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OF THE
BRITISH SCHOOL AT ATHENS

No. XXXIII.

SESSION 1932-1933

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THE ITHACA OF THE ODYSSEY[1]

THE identity of the Ithaca of the Odyssey with the island which has borne that name since remote antiquity had never been disputed until recent times. When, therefore, the tradition of centuries was called in question by so eminent an authority as Dr. Dörpfeld it was inevitable that zealous defenders would come forward to contest his arguments. The exploration of the traditional Ithaca (or Thiáki as the name has become by the metathesis not unusual in medieval Greek) by a group of British archaeologists and scholars, together with the excavations carried out there over some four years under the direction of Mr. W. A. Heurtley, who was able to devote the summers to this work, have established important conclusions for the solution of a controversy which has divided Homeric students. Investigation on the spot has revealed how closely the narrative of the epic, rationally interpreted, conforms to geographical conditions. Its episodes take place in scenes readily recognisable to-day and evidently drawn from personal observation. Even calculations of distance to be traversed incidentally to the story by land or sea are correctly estimated. The excavations confirm the evidence derived from a text in which amplitude of local detail, so unusual in early literature, tends to confirm another tradition accepted in ancient times, namely, that the poet was personally familiar with Ithaca.

Parenthetically, and in homage to so distinguished an archaeologist, it may be observed that there need not necessarily be a conflict between the claim of the present Ithaca to be the scene in which the poet staged the Odyssey and the hypothesis advanced by Dr. Dörpfeld that original Achaean settlers in Leucas, which he would have to be the first Ithaca, were driven thence by invading Dorians and carried the name of their old home with them to an island some four miles to the south, which had previously borne the name of Same. In view, however, of the reasoning on which this hypothesis is based, defenders of the old tradition must be concerned to shew that there is little if anything in the Odyssey itself to warrant the presumption of such a migration and transfer of names—a double transfer, in fact, since the name of Same has survived in Cephallenia. Indeed, it is indicated in Book XXIV that the conquest of Leucas by the Achaeans was subsequent to their establishment in Ithaca, though it is true that according to Aristophanes and Aristarchus this Book did not form part of the original poem. In Book XXIV the old Laertes is represented as referring to his capture, when leading the Cephallenians, of the city of Nericos on the mainland promontory, ἀκτὴ ἠπείροιο. The 'strong city,' long afterwards renamed Leucas but still known as Nericos down to the Peloponnesian War, was obviously in Homeric times the key of the peninsula because it commanded the isthmus connecting it with Acarnania. Laertes, moreover, was not the first overlord in Ithaca, but the successor of his father Arceisias. Book XXIV, which completes a dramatic epic, not least remarkable on account of its structural unity, had in any case been incorporated in the Odyssey ages before critical examination of texts was contemplated, so that this passage suggests that no doubts were then entertained about the identity of Homeric Ithaca. Much must remain for the present conjectural regarding the progress of the early Achaeans towards the Mediterranean. But if we accept the presumption that a halt was made in the neighbourhood of Dodona, the primitive religious centre, it seems reasonable to assume that the southward march of one section at any rate would have followed the course of the Achelous down to the great alluvial maritime plain off which lie the Echinades Islands, associated in the Iliad with Doulichion, rich in grass and grain. From there, when the Achaeans had acquired the habit of the sea, the occupation of Ithaca, opposite the mouth of the Achelous and readily accessible across island-studded waters, would rapidly follow, while the promontory of Leucas, well to the west of their line of march, would only have been absorbed later.

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[1] [This forms an introduction to a series of articles which will, it is hoped, appear in successive *Annuals*, and which will give an account of the excavations conducted in Ithaca by the British School at Athens on the initiative of Lord Rennell.]

The claim that the text of the Odyssey justifies a conviction that the author was familiar with the Ithaca of tradition connotes certain postulates which it should not be difficult to accept. In the first place, topographical references must not be expected to have the precision of statement appropriate to a geographical expert, but would be such as an intelligent observer would register in mental notes for his own poetic purpose. Those who have engaged in controversy have been too readily disposed to expect such precision and to overlook sources of inspiration of which the text furnishes ample evidence. It should suffice if we can recognise in the island physical features which have suggested the background for incidents arising in the dramatic conception of the story. It must also be borne in mind that it is not possible to-day to determine with exactitude to what modifications of coast-line an island situated in an earthquake zone has been subject in the course of many centuries. There is no question that a considerable subsidence has taken place there, similar to that which in the Bay of Naples is revealed by the remains of ancient structures visible in calm weather below the sea. The aspect of Ithaca, where in Homeric times the mountains were covered with trees, has also been considerably modified by the process of deforestation which has been universal in the islands as well as on the mainland of Greece. The rainfall in Ithaca is abundant but, even if the springs of Arethusa and Melanhydros may still be identified, the bald ridges no longer detain the moisture and *watering-places which fail not all the year* (XIII 247) have grown scarce. Finally, it would be reasonable to expect that in an epic of such length, intended for recitation, and preserved over a long period only by memorising, the text would display certain inconsistencies. It is, however, remarkable that there are hardly any of importance. With due allowance for these reservations it will be found that the narrative of the Odyssey corresponds with precision to physical and geographical conditions wherever the scene of action is laid in Ithaca itself. Where, on the other hand, the poet is dealing with the fairy story of the wanderings of Odysseus he manifestly creates imaginary pictures such as that of the garden of Calypso.

While the text can be shewn to furnish evidence of familiarity with Ithaca itself, there is nowhere anything to suggest that the poet had personally visited the other neighbour islands or the mainland off which they lie. Zakynthos and Same are merely characterised by the same recurring epithets, but there is a reference to vessels bound for Doulichion, which could supply grain and fodder. Even the little island of Dascalio in the Ithaca channel would probably only have been seen by the poet from the high ground above the bay of Polis, whence it appears to be much nearer than it really is to the Cephallenian shore, a point of some importance as bearing on its identification with the Homeric Asteris.

At the same time there can be little question that the Ithaca of the Odyssey was regarded by him as the smallest and the least populous of the four units with which it is constantly associated. Telemachus is represented as assigning to it a very modest proportion, only twelve out of the hundred and eight competitors for the hand of Penelope (XVI 247), whereas Doulichion was responsible for fifty-two, Zakynthos for twenty and Same for twenty-five. Had Homer known the present Ithaca as Same, and Leucas as Ithaca, he would not have represented the former, which has less than half the area of Leucas, as furnishing twice as many suitors.

As the island consists of two approximately equal sections united by a narrow isthmus it is readily comprehensible that local patriotism has advanced rival pretensions on behalf of north and south to contain the site of the Homeric city. This issue will be examined in due course. For the moment it will make much that follows more comprehensible to anticipate a conclusion which textual evidence and recent excavations seem to place beyond question, namely, that the site could only have been in the northern section. It includes far the most extensive cultivable area on the plateau above the harbour which has from time immemorial borne the name of the bay of Polis, *the City*. References to internal topography will, however, be more appropriately discussed after a re-examination of the important passage (IX 21–28) in which the relative position of Ithaca to the western island group is described:

> ναιετάω δ' Ἰθάκην εὐδείελον· ἐν δ' ὄρος αὐτῇ,
> Νήριτον εἰνοσίφυλλον ἀριπρεπές· ἀμφὶ δὲ νῆσοι
> πολλαὶ ναιετάουσι μάλα σχεδὸν ἀλλήλῃσι,
> Δουλίχιόν τε Σάμη τε καὶ ὑλήεσσα Ζάκυνθος.
> αὐτὴ δὲ χθαμαλὴ πανυπερτάτη εἰν ἁλὶ κεῖται
> πρὸς ζόφον, αἱ δέ τ' ἄνευθε πρὸς ἠῶ τ' ἠέλιόν τε,
> τρηχεῖ', ἀλλ' ἀγαθὴ κουροτρόφος· οὔ τοι ἐγώ γε
> ἧς γαίης δύναμαι γλυκερώτερον ἄλλο ἰδέσθαι.

The interpretation commonly given to these lines has led many Homeric students to conclude, with Dr. Dörpfeld, that the position of Ithaca as it is described in the Odyssey cannot be reconciled with actual topographical conditions. Probably few of those who have come to this conclusion—though Dörpfeld himself must be excepted—have had the opportunity of repeatedly sailing over these waters and of circumnavigating the island itself. Those who can have that experience will be more disposed to agree that this passage, properly interpreted, describes the relative position as it appears to be to a traveller sailing up from the south. Odysseus tells the Phaeacians that his dwelling-place is in Ithaca, which stands out clear to see. Round it are a number of islands, and of these three, the most important are mentioned by name, Doulichion, Same and Zakynthos. He continues, ‘Ithaca itself lies near the mainland, the highest up of them all in the sea, towards the gloom, and the others away towards both the dawn and the sun.’

Near the mainland is Strabo’s rendering of the word χθαμαλὴ, literally *low*.[1] To those who look from the mountainous shores of Greece seaward towards a lofty horizon the nearest objects become the lowest in the picture and, as the use of *low* for *near* has survived in seamen’s use of the modern language, Strabo’s interpretation may be accepted as correct. The words πρὸς ζόφον admittedly present a difficulty. Inasmuch as ζόφος, *the gloom*, is found elsewhere in Homer in antithesis to the dawn it has been assumed to mean the west. That it should do so would not invalidate the correctness of the description. At the same time there is a passage in the thirteenth book (line 241) where ζόφος seems to indicate the north. Athena there speaks of Ithaca as well known to many, whether it be of those who dwell towards the dawn and the sun or of those who dwell beyond towards the murky gloom. The great mass of Cephallenia lies to the south-west. It is true that a northern horn of that large island runs parallel with Ithaca’s western coast. But as the channel between the two is only a mile wide at the northern entrance, there would be no sense in saying that Ithaca was well known to the inhabitants of Cephallenia. There is no other land to the west nearer than the very distant shores of Italy. The only people, therefore, of whom it would have been pertinent to speak as familiar with Ithaca would be those of the mainland to the east, those of the Peloponnese or the islands to the south and the Thesprotians or others beyond Leucas to

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[1] See Strabo I ii 20 and X ii 11 for the geographical position of Ithaca.

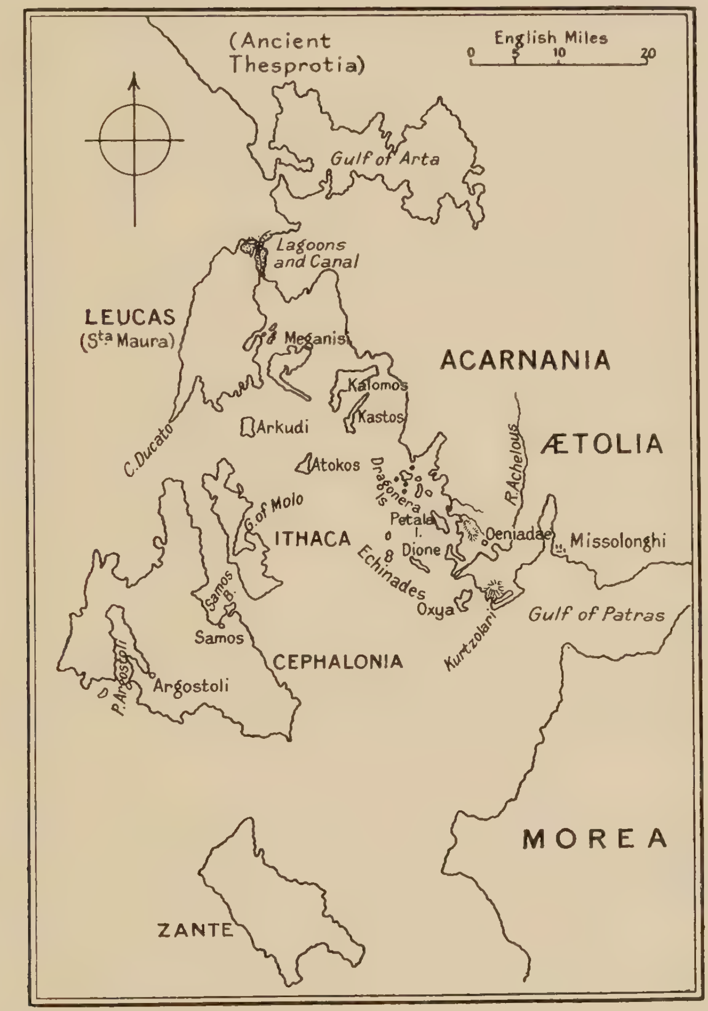
(Ancient Thesprotia)
English Miles
0
5
10
20
Gulf of Arta
Lagoons and Canal
LEUCAS (Sta Maura)
Meganisi
ACARNANIA
Kalomos
Kastos
Arkudi
C. Ducato
ÆTOLIA
R. Achelous
Atokos
Dragonera
Is
G. of Molo
ITHACA
Petala
I.
Dione
Oeniadae
Missolonghi
Echinades
Samos B.
Oxya
Gulf of Patras
Samos
Kurtzolari
CEPHALONIA
P. Argostoli
Argostoli
MOREA
ZANTE

FIG. 1.—LEUCAS AND ITHACA IN RELATION TO MAINLAND AND COASTAL ISLANDS.[1]

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[1] The blocks of this and the following map have kindly been lent to the School by Messrs. Edward Arnold and Co.

the north. Strabo entertained no doubt that in both the passages referred to *the gloom* indicated the north as the sun does the south.

Translators, unfamiliar with the actual topography, have generally connected together the words πανυπερτάτη, *highest up of all*, and πρὸς ζόφον, *towards the gloom*, rendering them accordingly as *furthest to the west.* The essential link, however, is between πανυπερτάτη and εἰν ἁλί, meaning when read together *highest up in the sea.* This correctly defines the position of Ithaca in relation to the other islands. Πρὸς ζόφον, which follows in the next line, may either expand the definition, if the *gloom* be interpreted to mean the north, or it may be read with χθαμαλὴ and signify 'to the west of the mainland.'

As you sail up from the Morea, leaving behind to the south Zante, the identity of which with Zakynthos no one has questioned, some of the Echinadae group, associated in the Iliad with Doulichion, may be detected lying off the Aetolian and Acarnanian coasts to the east. To the west is the lofty southern mass of Cephallenia parallel with which you run for some time before Ithaca becomes clearly distinguishable to the north. When it does come into view it appears to the navigator as both near the mainland and as the highest up in the sea of all the islands specified. A cartographer with a compass at hand might possibly define the relative position of Ithaca more scientifically, but that which is assigned to it in the Odyssey is precisely what it appears to be to a traveller coming from the south.

Another point which may be borne in mind as having a possible bearing on the controversy is that ancient geographers appear to have regarded the mainland coast opposite Ithaca as running west and east instead of north-west and south-east. Such a misapprehension of the true orientation of the mainland would involve misapprehension of that of the islands which lie off it.

Again, a rather unusual word in the Catalogue of the Greek ships in Book II of the Iliad has perhaps not been correctly understood by translators unacquainted with local topography. Odysseus is there mentioned (ll. 631–5) as the leader of the Cephallenians from Ithaca, Zakynthos and Samos or Same, together with those who occupied the mainland and the ἀντιπέραια, a word generally interpreted as meaning 'the lands over against it.' Associated as it is in the text with ἤπειρος, this should indicate a region constituting an independent geographical unit but differing in character from the continent. It can hardly refer to coastal islands because these, Doulichion and the Echinaae, have already been disposed of in the preceding lines (625–30) as being included in the dominion of Meges. It therefore seems reasonable to assume that ἀντιπέραια indicates Leucas, the *Acte* or promontory, then linked to the mainland by an isthmus but otherwise separated from it by a shallow lagoon.

Further light is thrown on the question by two at any rate of the various epithets attached to Ithaca in the Odyssey: εὐδείελος, *clear to see* or *easily distinguishable*, and ἀμφίαλος, the accepted meaning of which is *surrounded by the sea.* Both of these are eminently appropriate to Ithaca as an island, whereas it would be difficult to justify the use of either as descriptive of Leucas. The latter is certainly conspicuous, especially when approached from the north. But εὐδείελος serves elsewhere in the Odyssey to characterise islands in antithesis to headlands of the coast (XIII 234) and, whether first seen from the north or from the south, the mountain outline of Leucas appears to the navigator as an undetached prolongation of the Acarnanian highlands. The second epithet, ἀμφίαλος, would, as generally interpreted, be quite inappropriate to Leucas, which could hardly have been described as sea-surrounded in Homer's day, or indeed even after a canal had been cut through its isthmus.[1]

Dr. Dörpfeld lays stress on the mention in the Odyssey of ferrymen by whom cattle or goats were conveyed to Ithaca, which occurs when the herdsman Philoetius makes his first appearance (XX 187).[2] Such a ferry, he points out, still exists between Leucas and the Continent, replacing a bridge constructed in Roman times. The former existence of such a bridge he regards as inconsistent with the contention that Leucas was ever a peninsula. Are we then to reject the collective and very positive testimony of so many ancient writers, Thucydides, Polybius, Scylax, Strabo, Livy and Pliny, that Leucas was once a peninsula *cohaerens Acarnaniae*, as Livy describes it? Does not Thucydides tell us that the canal, the excavation of which was attributed by Strabo to Corinthian colonists in the seventh century B.C., was silted up before the Peloponnesian War, when vessels had to be transported across the isthmus? It was cleared again later and has no doubt been dredged many times since, so as to render a ferry necessary. In Homer's time herdsmen and cattle could have walked across the isthmus. But ferrymen were no doubt active in various places in the narrow seas. Odysseus had, we have been told, many herds on the mainland in which the Leucadian *Akte* might be included. But Philoetius is made to say that his master had placed him when very young in charge of his cattle in the Deme of the Cephallenians. Where then was that Deme? Cephallenians were settled throughout the domain of Odysseus. The largest unit in that domain was the island now known as Cephallenia, here identified with Homer's Same or Samos. Across the narrow channel separating it from Ithaca there would assuredly have been a ferry service, as there is still one to-day between the bay of Same and the haven at Pisaeto under Mt. Aetos.

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[1] The interpretation, however, remains uncertain, as this epithet is also applied to Corinth and should then mean *between two seas.* Another ingenious interpretation of this epithet has been advanced by a supporter of the old tradition. M. Thomopoulos (Ἰθάκη καὶ Ὅμηρος, Athens, 1908), who points out that it is used by Homer of Ithaca and by Sophocles of Lemnos. These two islands have a common peculiarity, in that they both consist of two approximately equal sections, united by an isthmus and enclosing a gulf of considerable area. He would therefore have its meaning to be active and not passive, *sea-surrounding*, not *sea-surrounded.* Ithaca and Lemnos are, however, by no means the only islands in Greek waters so formed as to encircle an ample tract of sea.

[2] The translator of the Odyssey in the Loeb edition has in this passage added the words *from the mainland.* They do not occur in the Greek text.

The identification of Ithaca necessarily involves that of the other islands with which it is associated. That Zante is the ancient Zakynthos no one has ever questioned. If the present Thiáki be the ancient Ithaca, then the ancient Same, separated from it by a narrow strait, can only be the Cephallenia of to-day, where the name of Same still survives in an early walled city and a large area facing the Ithaca channel. The position of Doulichion, on the other hand, has puzzled ancient as well as modern students. It has been suggested that Doulichion and Same were different sections of the same island, the present Cephallenia, a presumption which the passages in the Odyssey or in the Iliad in which they are mentioned shew nothing to justify. The advocates of the Leucadian theory, having disposed of Ithaca and Same, are satisfied that Cephallenia was Doulichion and that the survival of the name of Same there is accounted for by migration from an original Same renamed Ithaca. From a reference to Doulichion in the Iliad (II 625 f.) it would appear to have been at some time occupied by Epeans from Elis, between whom and the Cephallenian group of Achaeans a passage in the Odyssey (XXIV 427–31) would rather suggest a certain duality. A solution of the problem is perhaps after all not so difficult and the clue may be found in the Iliad in the passage referred to above. It is true that the Catalogue of the Ships in which these lines occur is believed with good reason to have been inserted somewhat later with a Boeotian bias in the text. Even so it must have been a very ancient addition, and it shews that at the time it was inserted Doulichion was regarded as locally associated with, if not actually one of the Echinades, as they are now called, which lie off the mouth of the Achelous (Aspropotamo) across the sea opposite Elis. Such was the view of Strabo, who wrote ' the Echinades among which is Doulichion ' and indicated an island in that group as still bearing in his time the name of Dolicha. The passage in the Iliad excludes Doulichion from the lordship of Odysseus, the leader of the Cephallenians. The leader of the Doulichians was the Epean Meges. The Homeric poems tell us little about Doulichion. But what little may be found there tends to corroborate Strabo's identification. It was rich in grain and grass (Od. XIV 335, XVII 396, XIX 392) and it sent forty ships to Troy, whereas the other three islands and the mainland domain of Odysseus could together only equip twelve. Doulichion, therefore, was the centre of an important naval and commercial community, trading in the cereals and fodder which no single Greek island was likely to produce in exportable quantities, and which in this region could only have been derived from the great maritime plain of the Achelous. We may assume, therefore, that Doulichion, a long island sheltering a safe anchorage at the river mouth, was the headquarters of such a community. It may well be represented by the one now known as Petala, off which the British Mediterranean fleets often lie during their summer cruises. This solution of the problem must have been in the mind of Strabo, who contrasts the forty ships of Doulichion with the Cephallenian twelve, and it is supported by Colonel Leake and others. The author of the Odyssey, if he never visited it personally, would have no idea of the relative size of the coastal islands which appear to the navigator sailing towards Ithaca from the south fused into the outline of the Aetolian and Acarnanian shore. But he would have heard of the commercial importance of Doulichion as he was evidently aware of its traffic with Thesprotia, whence vessels came to fetch its produce.[1] While the inferences to be drawn from the texts and the absence of any other acceptable alternative seem clearly to establish where the Homeric Doulichion should be looked for, the data are insufficient to determine to-day what particular island may have borne that name. The coast-line near the mouth of the Achelous has undergone considerable modification within historic memory, and it cannot be excluded that the river itself may have reached the sea through a different channel. Strabo, quoting Demetrius of Scepsis, maintains that a number of the Echinades have, through the progressive accumulation of alluvial deposit, become joined to the mainland. He specifies in particular Artemita, and he adds that others are destined to lose their insular character. Some of the Aetolian headlands were, he affirms, once islands. Herodotus (ii 2) also claims that half the Echinades had become attached to the mainland and Thucydides (ii 102) supports this opinion. It may be that new light could be thrown on the position of Doulichion by the investigations of geographical and geological experts.

Further geographical as distinguished from internal topographical evidence for the identification of Ithaca will be found in the description in the Odyssey of the journey of Telemachus to Pylos, particularly in that of the course steered on his return to avoid the ambush laid by the suitors. In days when there were no maps or records an account conforming in its details so closely to local conditions could only have been conceived by one actually familiar with these waters and the approximate distance to be covered. When Telemachus embarked surreptitiously at night he is said to have sailed away with a favouring breeze, a Zephyr. Now Zephyr in Homer may mean any wind from the west. The Ithaca channel below

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[1] An analogy may be found in the repute enjoyed in the beginning of the nineteenth century by Hydra, itself an unproductive island, but the headquarters of a maritime community which provided Greece with a fleet in the struggle for emancipation. Hydra is only one island in the group which includes Spetsae and several smaller islands.

Port Polis bears south-east. A north-westerly wind, therefore, would carry him directly towards Pylos. A glance at the map will reveal that no wind with west in it could well be characterised as favourable for a run to Pylos from any of the havens in Leucas.

When the suitors became aware of his departure they equipped a vessel to intercept him on his homeward way and despatched it to a small island called Asteris in the channel between Ithaca and Same (IV 844). This channel (πορθμὸς) Dr. Dörpfeld, consistently with his theory that Leucas was Ithaca, would have to be the comparatively wide passage between it and the northern extremity of the present Ithaca, while he identifies Asteris with Arkudi. The defenders of the old tradition may justifiably ask whether the poet would have insisted on the minuteness of the islet in the channel (οὐ μεγάλη) if he had had in mind Arkudi, which is one and three quarters of a mile long and about a mile in width. Would, moreover, one accustomed to navigation in narrow seas have described the relatively wide passage between Leucas and the northern point of Ithaca as a strait, πορθμὸς, when contiguous to it there is the characteristically obvious strait, only a mile wide at the entrance to the channel separating the present Thiáki from Cephallenia? In the latter, moreover, just opposite the bay called Polis, there is the solitary island, now called Dascalio, ideally situated for a survey of the whole Ithaca channel. No vessel could approach Polis from the south in daylight without being seen from Dascalio, whereas the sinuosity of the coast might prevent its being detected in time from the harbour or even from the high ground above.

Notwithstanding that Dascalio was known to the ancient geographers Strabo and Stephanus as Asteria, exception has been taken to its identification with Asteris, firstly because it is a rock rising only some ten feet above sea-level, and secondly because it has neither the *double havens* of the text (IV 84) nor the wind-swept heights referred to in another passage (XVI 365). To the first objection it may be replied that, while the small area and rocky character of Asteris are emphasised in the text, Dascalio, which has shallow water to the N.N.E. and S.S.W., was no doubt considerably larger before the land subsidence which has been ascertained to have occurred in this particular region. This presumption is perhaps strengthened by the fact that a cistern, tower and other ruins of late date show Dascalio to have once been occupied. The double havens need not have meant more then than small creeks providing alternative beaching-places for shallow-draft vessels according to the prevailing wind. The Mediterranean Pilot gives the distance of Dascalio from the Cephallenian shore as three cables (600 yards). From the heights above the Bay of Polis it looks still nearer and has almost the appearance of a long breakwater sheltering a section of the coast, where there are, moreover, two small creeks offering protection respectively from the north and the south wind. Anyone who has sailed round Dascalio must realise that it is a perfectly independent unit. But the author of the Odyssey, seeing it only from the Ithaca side, might well have regarded it as forming with the land behind it a harbour with an entrance to the north and to the south. The word μεσσηγὺς need not be interpreted as *midway* or indeed as anything more than *between.* As regards the *windy heights* it would seem fairly obvious that the poet did not intend them to be in Asteris itself. Antinous, when describing to the other suitors how successions of watchmen were posted on the heights, goes on to say that after sunset they did not remain on the land, ἐπ' ἠπείρου, but cruised in the channel (XVI 366–8). Ἤπειρος, properly the mainland, could hardly be used to denote a mere islet and therefore here would seem to refer to Cephallenia.

Even if—and the acceptance of the above explanations would make such an admission superfluous—there may be slight inexactitudes in the picture presented in the poem, the general outlines correspond too closely to actual topographical conditions to leave much doubt that it was drawn from nature. In any case the account of the return of Telemachus from Sparta and Pylos furnishes geographical particulars which make it clear that the poet had in mind a course steered to the Ithaca of tradition. We are told that Telemachus, having started from Pherae at daybreak, stopped short of Pylos and regained his ship. Then, after a brief delay to take leave of Peisistratus and to perform the ritual sacrifice, he sailed northwards before a strong southerly wind. When the sun set the vessel was off Pheae, the modern Katakolo, opposite the southern end of Zante. Thence after holding on along the coast of Elis he headed towards the Thoae or Pointed Islands, now known as Oxaeai.[1] This involved a diversion of course from north-west to north-east in conformity with the warning of Athena to avoid the ambush set by the suitors in the channel between Ithaca and Same. He was to keep well away from the islands, that is, the islands mentioned as forming the channel. Had he continued on a direct line towards the harbour of Polis he would have run the risk of being seen at daybreak approaching the straits and might even, sailing five miles an hour before the wind, have actually entered the narrows. On his outward journey he had left Ithaca after nightfall and, running a straight course, reached Pylos after the sun rose (II 434 and III 1–4). The diversion towards the Pointed Islands and then a second change of course to north-west enabled him to make the south-eastern end of Ithaca unperceived. There he would have landed either in the Bay of Perapegadi (Port Liá), below the gorge leading up to the fountain of Arethusa, or in one of the bays on the southern coast, Hagios Ioannes or Hagios Andreas, to climb up to the hut of the swineherd.

The advocates of Leucas are bound to contend that in order to carry out Athena's counsel Telemachus would have had to go round the western side of Cephallenia, a run of at least a hundred miles from Pheae, a distance which a primitive Greek vessel with its single sail could not be expected to accomplish between sunset and sunrise. It has further to be assumed that the Thoae islands towards which Telemachus steered must have been the Montague rocks off the coast of Elis, some fifteen miles north of Pheae,

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[1] The modern name seems to have been given in accordance with the traditional interpretation of Homer's θοαί, but Dr. Mackail prefers the literal and more poetic rendering, *The Fleeting Isles.*

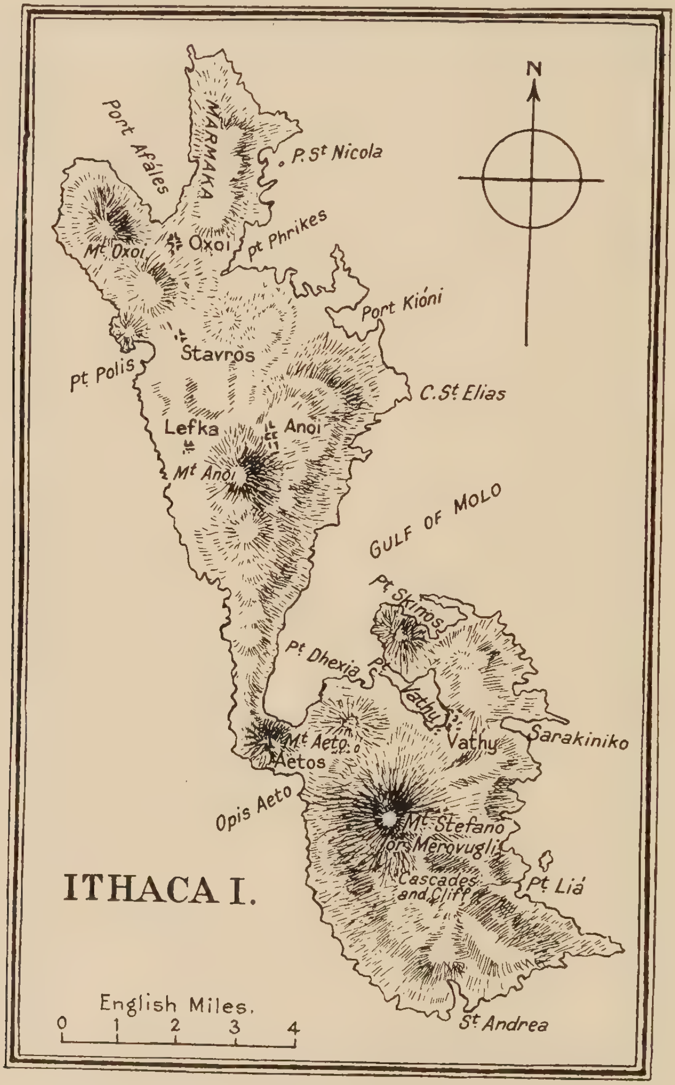
N
Port Afales
MARMAKA
P. St Nicola
Mt Oxoi
Oxoi
Pt Phrikes
Port Kióni
Stavros
Pt Polis
C. St Elias
Lefka
Anoi
Mt Anoi
GULF OF MOLO
Pt Skinos
Pt Dhexia
Pt
Vathy
Sarakiniko
Mt Aeto
Aetos
Vathy
Opis Aeto
Mt Stefano or Merovugli
Cascades and Cliff
Pt Liá
ITHACA I.
St Andrea
English Miles.
0 1 2 3 4

Fig. 2.—Ithaca.

between Cape Trepito and Cape Glarenza. These rocks are now completely under water. It may be argued that prior to a coastal subsidence some summits were visible. But this is pure conjecture and as, according to the Mediterranean Pilot, 2¾ fathoms is the least depth ascertained over the Montague Shoal, it seems improbable that they were ever visible as a steering mark, and certainly not after nightfall.

Meanwhile on the previous day Odysseus, still unrecognised, had made his way to the homestead of Eumaeus, situated where there was a wide outlook from the plateau above the magnificent white limestone cliff, still haunted by the ravens, which gave it a name some three thousand years ago. The cliff of Korax rises sheer from a steep slope supported by a high wall of stratified rock in which, shadowed by maidenhair fern, is the spring of Arethusa. It closes the end of a narrow gorge spreading out upwards like a fan as it rises to the foot of the cliff. Above the head of the gorge, on the northern side of a slope, curving round so as almost to face the cliff of Korax, is an ample hollow in the rock which might well have suggested to the poet the recess, sheltered from the north wind, in which Eumaeus penned the boars, apart from the sows, and went to sleep himself after having made a bed for Odysseus in his own hut (XIV 533).

Telemachus, after reaching the farm, at once despatched Eumaeus to the city to announce his safe return to Penelope. The city was, we are told, a long way off (XVII 25). The site above the harbour of Polis would be some ten miles away in a direct line. Eumaeus on his return is made to say that he did not linger at the palace, but started to go back forthwith. Even so he did not reach the hut till evening fell. The whole distance covered, even if it exceeded twenty miles, would not be excessive for a hardy Greek mountaineer. So here again, as in all references in the Odyssey to Ithaca itself, verisimilitude is given to the narrative by its close correspondence to topographical requirements.

The exigencies of the story to be told required that when Odysseus at last returned to his native island he should be disembarked unperceived. As the area best suited for cultivation and therefore the most populous was in the northern section, havens or landing beaches there were not suitable for the poet's purpose. Nor would the bays in the extreme south of Ithaca fit in with the narrative, because from any of these the mountain of Neriton, which Athena indicated to him, would be masked by intervening heights. The southern section of the island where the level ground is restricted was probably cleared and cultivated much later than the northern, as it included the district known to Homer as Krokyleia.[1] This name, found elsewhere in Greece where similar conditions prevail, is derived from the white limestone boulders, resembling flocks of wool, covering the ground and reducing its agricultural value until in the process of centuries they could be gradually assembled and employed for supporting walls to hold up the soil of olive plantations and vineyards on the surrounding slopes. That such work still needed active hands when the Odyssey was conceived is suggested by the passage where Eurymachus recommended it as a suitable occupation for Odysseus.

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[1] There is in northern Ithaca, above the Bay of Phrikes, a headland which to-day bears the name of Krokali. None the less the district Krokyleia will only fit into the picture in the southern section.

In view of these conditions the harbour of Phorcys must be looked for in one of the three bays on the southern side of the Gulf of Molo, opposite the mountain Anogí, readily identifiable with Neritos. If its altitude does not greatly differ from that of the highest point of a long ridge in the southern half of the island, known as Karaveicon or S. Stefano, its pyramidal form, rising steeply from the sea, makes it far the most conspicuous object in Ithaca. An echo of the ancient name seems, moreover, to have survived in an area on the eastward slope known as Νηδρί, a colloquial form of Νήδριον. Odysseus, with the morning mist drawn round him by Athena, did not, we are told, recognise the *bays* affording good anchorage (XIII 195). The use of the plural here is significant, since nowhere else in the island will three bays be found in close proximity to one another. Of these only one, the central bay of Vathy, could be described as completely landlocked. The small bay of Dexia, the most westerly, is, however, sheltered by a rocky islet which before the coastal subsidence took place might have appeared to be a prolongation of one enclosing arm. Dexia in any case seems to have the best claim to be the landing-place contemplated in the Odyssey for the following reasons. A vessel could readily be beached on its shelving shore, whereas it would have to penetrate a fairly long distance into Vathy bay to find a suitable spot for beaching on the western side, above which the ground rises abruptly. The cave of the Naiads also is more accessible from Dexia, as would be the rough paths by which Odysseus was to climb to the pig-farm of Eumaeus.[1] It is not, however, material to the general argument which of the two bays the poet conceived as the landing-place.

A striking example of the manner in which the creator of the Odyssey invests natural phenomena with the glamour of poetry is offered by the description of the cave or grotto in which the treasures of the Phaeacians were concealed. It might be assumed that it should be looked for close to the seashore and not where such a cave actually exists some little way up the steeply rising slope behind Dexia Bay. The identification is, however, justified by the text, in which we are told that it was sacred to the Naiads

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[1] M. Thomopoulos (*op. cit.*) advances an ingenious argument for associating Dexia with the larger Bay of Vathy, which he identifies with the haven of Phorcys. The *head* of the harbour, where the Phaeacians are said to have landed Odysseus would in English mean its innermost recess, whereas he contends that in the language of Greek seamen to-day it signifies the entrance. The little bay of Dexia, to the west alongside the entrance to Vathy, could therefore properly be described as ἐπὶ κρατὸς λιμένος.

(XIII 104), the tutelary spirits of springs and mountains. Had the poet contemplated a grotto on the shore he would have represented it as dedicated to a deity or nymph of the sea. Many caves are mentioned in the Odyssey, but of no other are individual features enumerated with such elaboration of detail. Some of these may be common to many grottoes in Greece, but others peculiar to this one are so faithfully reproduced as to leave little doubt that the cave now known as Marmarospelia inspired the description. In the first place it has the two entrances referred to, one facing the north wind, accessible to men; the other facing the south wind, a wide aperture at the far end of the vaulted roof, the way only of immortals who walk the air. The northern entrance is low and narrow, just high and wide enough to allow a man stooping to pass in, so that it would have been easy for Athena to close it with a great stone [1] (XIII 130). You descend, as the text indicates, on entering to a lower level by a rough rock stair. The long looms of stone at which the nymphs wove are stalactite pillars. Since the deforestation of the mountains any flow of water now ceases in the summer months, but the steady drip which formed the stalactites also hollowed out the 'mixing-bowls' on the rock shelves. The cavern is still haunted by the wild bees.

The first point to establish when excavation was undertaken in Ithaca was where to look for the city which bore the same name as the island. The ancient site, cleared many years ago by Schliemann on Mt. Aetos, at the southern end of the isthmus uniting the two sections, was excluded. The walls and remains of the citadel were obviously posterior to the Homeric epoch, nor did its situation fulfil the requirements connoted by the text of the Odyssey. It is probably the Alalcomenae referred to by Strabo. The bay, well sheltered from the north wind, on the Ithaca channel, which has retained to this day the name of Polis, suggested that the city must have been on the high ground above it in the northern half of the island. A site where the base of an ancient temple and other indications of occupation are found on the eastern slope of Mt. Exogí, which may be identified as the Homeric Neion, was also rejected, and rightly as subsequent excavations there have proved. But not very far from it, a little north of the modern village of Stavros which overlooks the Bay of Polis, the hill known as Pelicata presented an ideal site for an early city, as it commands the whole undulating plateau which constitutes the most fertile area of a mountainous island. It has an outlook towards the sea in three directions, north, west and east. It was therefore at Pelicata that Mr. W. A. Heurtley, at that time Assistant Director of the British School at Athens, who had consented to take charge of operations, decided in 1930 to sink exploratory trenches over an area where there was nothing above ground to guide the investigator.[1] At the same time Miss Benton, who had already some years before explored the archaeological potentialities of Ithaca, was entrusted with the excavation of a cave on the northern shore of the Bay of Polis, where a former proprietor of the land had more than sixty years ago discovered treasures of bronze and gold, unfortunately since dispersed, and where the ground had again been trenched in 1904 by the Dutch archaeologist, M. Vollgraff. The reports of Mr. Heurtley, Miss Benton and others who have co-operated with enthusiasm in four summer campaigns in Ithaca will set forth with expert knowledge the important results of their activity. It will suffice in a general introduction, dealing mainly with the testimony of the Odyssey for the identity of Ithaca, to state that the hill of Pelicata yielded ample evidence of its having been a centre of occupation surrounded by a cyclopean wall of which the lower courses can still be traced. That evidence consists mainly of pottery sherds, with such objects as stone axes, kneading stones for crushing corn, a little bronze, obsidian blades and figurines or vases deposited in graves, whose occupants were in early times buried within the settled area and apparently under the living houses. Of buildings *in situ* no remains came to light, though there were in places numerous small slabs of stratified rock which might have served for pavements. Pieces of sun-baked mud bearing the impress of wood indicated that the roofs at any rate were constructed of lath and plaster.[2] References in the Odyssey to a threshold of stone in the temple of Apollo may imply that such a feature was exceptional. One only of stone is mentioned as within the great hall in the palace of Odysseus,[3] whereas all the others are specifically stated to have been made of oak or ash. It seems justifiable to infer that the poet believed the Achaean immigrants to have built mainly with perishable material and that substantial stone construction, such as that of Tiryns and Mycenae, was a survival there of an earlier Minoan civilisation of which the invaders became the reversionaries. The pottery at Pelicata, Early Helladic, Minyan and Mycenaean, testifies to the antiquity of the settlement. But nothing was discovered to which a later date could be assigned than approximately 1200 B.C. From this the deduction is inevitable that the city must have been destroyed about that time, probably by one of those earthquakes to which Ithaca is subject. The site would therefore only have been a tradition at the date hitherto generally assigned to Homer.

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[1] It is possible that this narrow entrance was at one time concealed by vegetation, since Strabo (I iii 14), apparently quoting Demetrius, says that the grotto in Ithaca described by Homer can no longer be found.

It has been suggested that Pelicata might have been the site of the palace and that the town lay to the south of it on the lower ground extending to the present Stavros. The area of the Pelicata eminence, however, seems too extensive for the *domos* of Odysseus. There was an ancient town at Stavros in later times, after the destruction of the settlement revealed by excavation. Investigations there, whether recent or of earlier date, have, besides a few Mycenaean sherds, only brought to light walls or graves of the Hellenic epoch. Some deductions, however, may be derived from the text of the Odyssey as to where the poet conceived the palace of the chieftain to have stood.

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[1] Vollgraff had, however, reported the presence there of prehistoric sherds.

[2] These pieces of clay, as well as many of the artifacts, were found among masses of unworked stones which had evidently been shovelled down the slope from the top of the hill to level up space for cultivation and cannot represent merely house-foundations. It is safe to infer that the walls of these buildings were of unworked stones.

[3] The three references XVII 30, XX 358 and XXIII 88 seem all to be to the same threshold over which access was obtained to upper chambers.

It seems clear that the compound of the *domos* was not actually in the city, and yet that it was fairly close to it. After the slaying of the suitors, which was accompanied without arousing any suspicion among the townsfolk, Odysseus instructed the bard Phemius to lead the handmaids in a dance which would be accomplished by singing, so that passers-by going to or from the city and hearing a sound of merry-making from outside would assume a wedding feast to be in progress. The verb κατέρχομαι, *to go down*, is repeatedly used of persons going to the city or elsewhere from the palace, which occupied a conspicuous position (I 426). This implies that it stood on rising ground. That it was constructed on a hill-side at varying levels is also indicated by there having been a stair from the great hall to the apartment of Penelope, while the nuptial chamber must nevertheless have stood on natural ground, because the bedpost had been hewn by Odysseus out of an olive tree actually growing there. The stairs may have been cut in the rock, because, while others are said to be of oak or ashwood, the threshold which led towards the upper chamber of Penelope is described as being of stone (XXIII 88). The more usual wooden thresholds and door-posts of the *domos* might warrant a surmise that the walling of the nuptial chamber by Odysseus with close-set stones is mentioned by him because it was exceptional and not the rule. The hall would have had a floor of earth in which trenches could be dug to set up the axes for the contest of the bow, and its ashen threshold, probably based on a stone foundation, was elevated to keep out the wet. A primitive simplicity of construction would explain the wonder of Telemachus when he beheld the magnificence of the palace at Sparta.

The epithet ὑπονήιον [1] attached to Ithaca (III 81) seems to refer to the city and not to the island. There has been some divergence of opinion as to the identification of the Neion under which it lay. But of the mountains in the island only one approximates to the form of an ancient ship with its high bow and poop, namely, the ridge now known as Exogí, or colloquially Oxoï, which protects the haven of Polis from the strong winds blowing down the Adriatic and forms the north-western horn of the island. Its outline, rising to a considerable elevation at the southern and northern ends with a depression in the centre, would justify the name. Elsewhere (I 186), the haven of Rheithron is also described as lying ὑπὸ Νηίῳ. It was there, some way from the city, that Athena, posing as Mentes, tells Telemachus that she had landed from a Taphian vessel on its way to Temese to barter a cargo of iron for one of copper (I 185–6). The course from the islands east of Leucas which Strabo, Stephanus and Pliny identified with those of the Taphians to Temese in Bruttium (S. Eufemia in Calabria), famous for its copper mines, would lie past the Bay of Afales under Mt. Exogí in the north of Ithaca. If the copper mines in Cyprus at another Temese were in the poet's mind the Bay of Afales would also not be out of the way for a vessel sailing from Strabo's Taphiousa. Any cove where the waters draining from the then wooded slopes of Neion joined the sea might have borne the name of Rheithron.

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[1] Strabo, referring to this passage, adopts the reading ὑπὸ Νηίου (X ii 11).

There are on the lower slopes of Exogí, a little beyond Pelicata, rock cuttings and, on a platform of squared stone, the lower courses of a small temple now rebuilt as a chapel. Excavations carried out in this area have only revealed remains of Hellenic or Roman buildings.[1] But a short distance away the waters from a spring fall over a low cliff and form a dark pool at its foot. It is tempting to identify this fountain with the Melanhydros of the Odyssey from which the handmaidens of the palace drew water. There is also a little further south at a rather lower level another spring approached by a short tunnelled passage with a primitive vaulting of rough stones. The source, on the other hand, from which the townsfolk obtained water, also draining from the slopes of Exogí, may be identified at a spot now known as Asprosykia, below Stavros.[2] The τυκτὴ κρήνη, its name in the Odyssey, need mean no more than that the spring was conducted through artificial channels into reservoirs, such as still exist, hollowed in the rock of the hill. The general deduction to be drawn from the scanty indications furnished by the text of the Odyssey seem to be that the author conceived the *domos* as situated on the slope of Mt. Exogí a little to the north-west of Pelicata.

And finally, a true touch of poetic suggestion at the end of the epic seems to derive naturally from the position fixed for the sites of the city and the palace in the north of the island under Mt. Exogí. When Hermes assembled the souls of the slaughtered suitors to conduct them to the asphodel meadows he led them to the streams of ocean and the rock of Leucas (XXIV 11). The way to the open sea would lie past the famous Leucadian cape.

The exploration of the cave on the northern shore of the Bay of Polis has yielded a great deal of interesting material which will be discussed in the report of Miss Benton, who will probably say little of the trying conditions under which she worked in the unshaded suns of August and September, sifting every fragment of pottery from the earth and mud brought up by the spade. It must remain a matter of profound regret that a most important link in the archaeological history of Ithaca was lost more than sixty years ago when the owner of the ground dug up the floor level and found there, it is reported, much bronze and some gold which was dispersed without any record of its disposal. Nothing then discovered seems to have remained in the island except an inscription on a rough limestone slab recording a dedication to Athena. Broken pottery, however, reduced probably to still smaller fragments by the digger's pick, was left in the ground as having no market value. These sherds and other small objects covering a period of more than two thousand years, extending down to Roman times, have furnished a mass of valuable evidence for the antiquity and origin of offerings deposited in the cave sanctuary, and great encouragement was given to the archaeologists by the discovery in the summer of 1930 of the terracotta fragment of an *ex voto* bearing the much-discussed inscription ΕΥΧΗΝ ΟΔΥϹϹΕΙ, a prayer or vow to Odysseus, which shewed that the hero had come to be regarded as a tutelary divinity in Ithaca. A mass of rock had fallen at some time from the overhang at the entrance to the grotto, securing the ground which it occupied from being despoiled, and its removal by blasting and breaking up was indispensable. Another difficulty had presented itself in the second season. The floor level of the cave was below that of the sea, and it was found impossible as excavation proceeded during the second summer's work to prevent the infiltration of water through crevices in the rock. After the workmen stood immersed up to or above the knee, pottery and other objects continued to be brought up from a lower level. It was obvious that the original ground level could only be ascertained by pumping and cementing. This was accomplished in the summer of 1932, thanks to the indefatigable energy of Miss Benton, after four unsuccessful efforts with inadequate pumps. When a sufficiently powerful apparatus was at length brought at considerable expense from Patras it became possible to ascertain the original floor-level of the cavern, and there came to light a wall near which had stood bronze Geometric tripods. These had been crushed by the mass of fallen stone, but one can be fully restored. It may be assumed that in its original state the cave, in which offerings had been deposited through so many centuries, would have been sufficiently high above the foreshore to prevent its being flooded by a rough sea, and if so the land subsidence which has taken place can hardly have been less than 1·40 metres and may well have been considerably more. That the phenomenon was not peculiar to the north of the island became evident when Mr. Heurtley transferred his activities to the saddle under Mt. Aetos some seven miles away at the southern end of the isthmus. Investigation has indicated that it also affected the elevation of the little island of Dascalio opposite to and barely a mile away from the Bay of Polis.

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[1] A few Mycenaean kylix-stems were found here.

[2] Here were some Mycenaean sherds, including a kylix-stem.

The results of the excavations undertaken by Mr. Heurtley and his assistants in the area of Aetos and Pisaeto, which had been previously explored by Gell, Leake, Vollgraff and Schliemann, the discovery of early burial cairns and the indications of a Corinthian station established there will be set forth in his reports. A cave by the shore the base of which was well under sea-level, containing Mycenaean sherds, and the end of a finely constructed wall, not connected with the citadel on Aetos, which had to be dug out from the beach, furnished evidence of the extent to which here also the land had been submerged. With this exception, however, nothing has come to light in this particular region which seems to have a direct bearing on the Homeric question,[1] and its exploration, however important archaeologically, need therefore not be discussed in a note dealing mainly with the evidence to be derived from the Odyssey for the identification of Ithaca.

If the foregoing summary may be regarded as having established that the Odyssey contains a number of local details characteristic of and in many cases peculiar to the Ithaca of to-day, this must confirm the presumption advanced at the outset, that the author was personally familiar with the island which was to serve as the scene of his epic. Dr. Dörpfeld, however, has not only made it clear that such evidence as has been put forward here would not convince him, but he appears to have accepted also another contention which runs counter to generally accepted tradition. He points out that such eminent philological authorities as Inama and Mahlow hold that the Greek of the Homeric poems belongs to the eleventh century B.C. and he foreshadows the appearance before long of a volume from his coadjutor Professor Ruter in which this claim will find further support. Even were such a hypothesis to be established beyond contest it would not necessarily invalidate the arguments which have been assembled in favour of Thiáki as the island meant by the author of the Odyssey to be the home of his hero. It might, however, render less conclusive the case which it has been sought to establish for the poet's personal familiarity with the scene of the epic.

There has been of recent years a healthy reaction against the destructive criticism of Wolf and his school. Archaeological investigation tends to confirm biblical testimony, to rehabilitate the veracity of Herodotus and other ancient historians and to shew that traditions recorded by them may be more trustworthy than the speculations of the sceptical student. If tradition is being reinstated as a tolerably faithful guide it seems justifiable to assume that, though mainly concerned with dynasties and conquests, it might have handed down to the ancient world some facts which need not be rejected concerning the father of letters. There are still extant eight lives of Homer, some of them only fragments, in more than one of which reference is made to his having sojourned in Ithaca. The higher criticism has, perhaps rather perfunctorily, condemned them all as apocryphal and they are therefore rarely examined by the student and have ceased to be published as *prolegomena* to editions of Homer. It has been suggested that some of the incidents embodied in these lives were assimilated from the Homeric epigrams. If the latter are now not regarded as all by the same hand they are in any case very ancient and may well have been retained in popular memory from a time before writing was in general use in Greece. The longest of the biographies has been ascribed, if without any sufficient reason, to the authorship of Herodotus, who quotes both the Iliad and the Odyssey and believed the Hymn to Apollo to be also the work of Homer. Though a learned German philologist entertains little doubt that it is a forgery of the second century of our era, it none the less appears to be written in good Ionic Greek after the manner of Herodotus. Now if this life, even though not compiled by the great historian, were approximately contemporary, it would have been written only some four centuries after the generally accepted date of Homer in the ninth century B.C. In that case it might reasonably be presumed to have embodied traditions which, in view of the influence exercised by the Homeric epics, might well have been reverently preserved in different centres.

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[1] The earliest of the pottery fragments must, however, belong to the beginning of the twelfth century B.C., cf. pp. 64, 65.

This introductory note has been concerned only with literary evidences. The reports of the archaeological experts who have worked for four seasons in Ithaca will tell their own story. Should appreciations formed after examining both aspects of the question appear approximately to coincide, the case for the acceptance of an old tradition will be greatly strengthened, the more so if it is borne in mind that the poet does not work with a surveyor's chain and levels. His privilege is to receive impressions which others are less quick to apprehend and, to borrow Goethe's illuminating phrase, to invest them with the veil of poesy woven by the hand of truth.

RENNELL.

EXCAVATIONS IN ITHACA, I.

(PLATES 1–6)

LH III—PROTOGEOMETRIC CAIRNS AT AETÓS.[1]

Introductory note.[2]

The area of the Protogeometric cairns here described was first discovered in 1931, when we opened a trial pit (Fig. 3) which revealed part of a wall (Fig. 4, 6) and behind it what seemed to be a confused mass of stones mixed with black earth, and containing sherds, ranging from a few LH III to Protogeometric. These stones we took to be the remains of a collapsed house. In 1932 the pit was extended, principally to West and North, and though we encountered the same masses of stones all over the area, it became possible to discover some coherence in them. The plan (Fig. 3) and section (Fig. 4) give some idea of the complexity of the remains, but for the sake of clearness the accumulations of stones (all of which it was necessary to plot before they could be removed) between the surface and the remains actually shown are omitted. In the neighbourhood of wall 6 the stones explained themselves as remains of a succession of terrace-walls and their filling, built at various periods to terrace up the area to the North of them, each time with a slightly different alignment. It was only when we had got near virgin soil that the cairns became recognisable. They had naturally suffered in the process of terracing and had been further disturbed by a series of Byzantine cist graves (Fig. 3, 12–21; Fig. 5), the makers of which had displaced the stones and contents of the cairns and the earth above them. It is really remarkable that the cairns have survived at all and it is only owing to the skilful and patient work of Miss Lorimer that their structural character has been recognised.

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[1] For Schliemann's excavations at Aetós see Schliemann, *Ithaca, Peloponnesus, and Troy*, 1868, pp. 22–36; and for Vollgraff's, *B.C.H.* 29, 1905, pp. 146–150.

[2] I wish to thank Mrs. G. A. D. Tait who made the map (Pl. 1) and plotted some of the walls in 1932, and Mr. J. C. B. Richmond who plotted the remainder in 1934 and was responsible for most of the drawings; Mr. C. R. Wason for the sketch-plan (Fig. 2); Miss S. Benton for much help with the pottery; and Dr. W. Vollgraff for the use of his notes. Figs. 26, 36 and 37 are by Mr. P. de Jong. My obligations to the people of Ithaca are too numerous to be mentioned in detail, but I wish especially to thank Mr. K. Petalás, Mayor of Vathý, for his enthusiastic interest and support, the people of Vathý and the Ἕνωσις τῶν ἁπανταχοῦ Ἰθακησίων for generous contributions and M. Marátos, owner of part of the site, for giving us every facility for excavation and in placing at our disposal a room in Vathý for storing the finds.

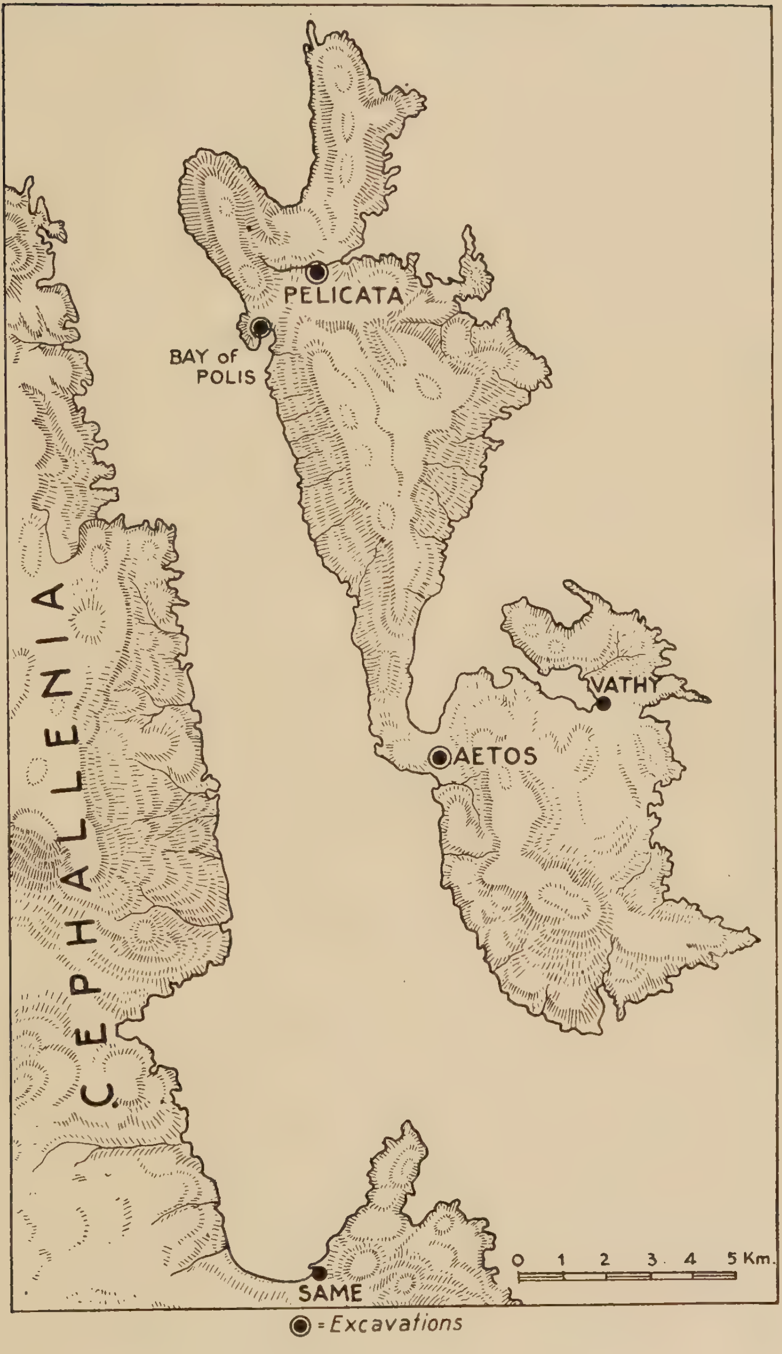

PELICATA
BAY of POLIS
CEPHALLENIA
VATHY
AETOS
SAME
0 1 2 3 4 5 Km.
◉ = Excavations

FIG. 1.—ITHACA.

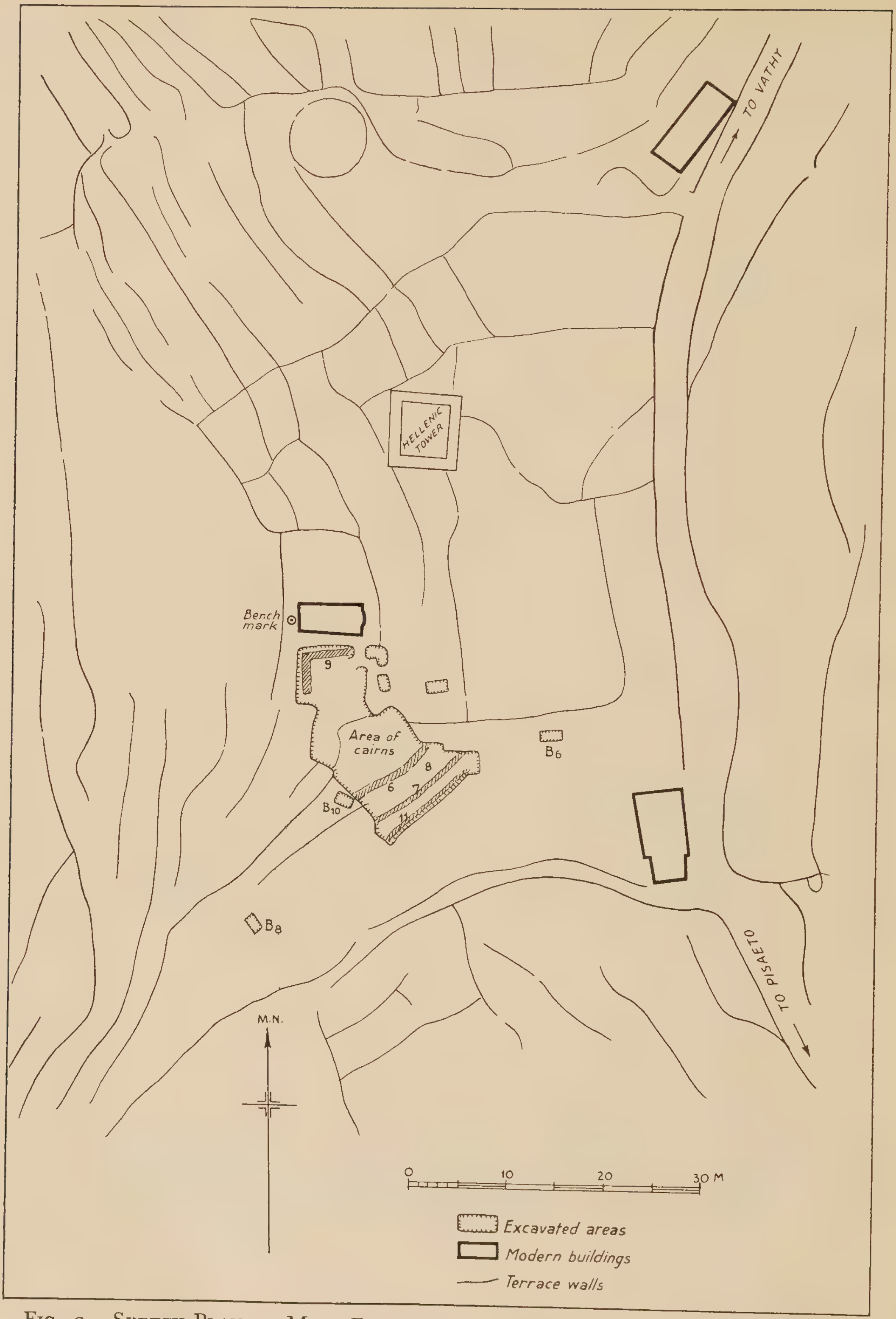

TO VATHY
HELLENIC TOWER
Bench mark
9
Area of cairns
8
6
7
11
B10
B6
B8
TO PISAETO
M.N.
0
10
20
30 M
Excavated areas
Modern buildings
Terrace walls

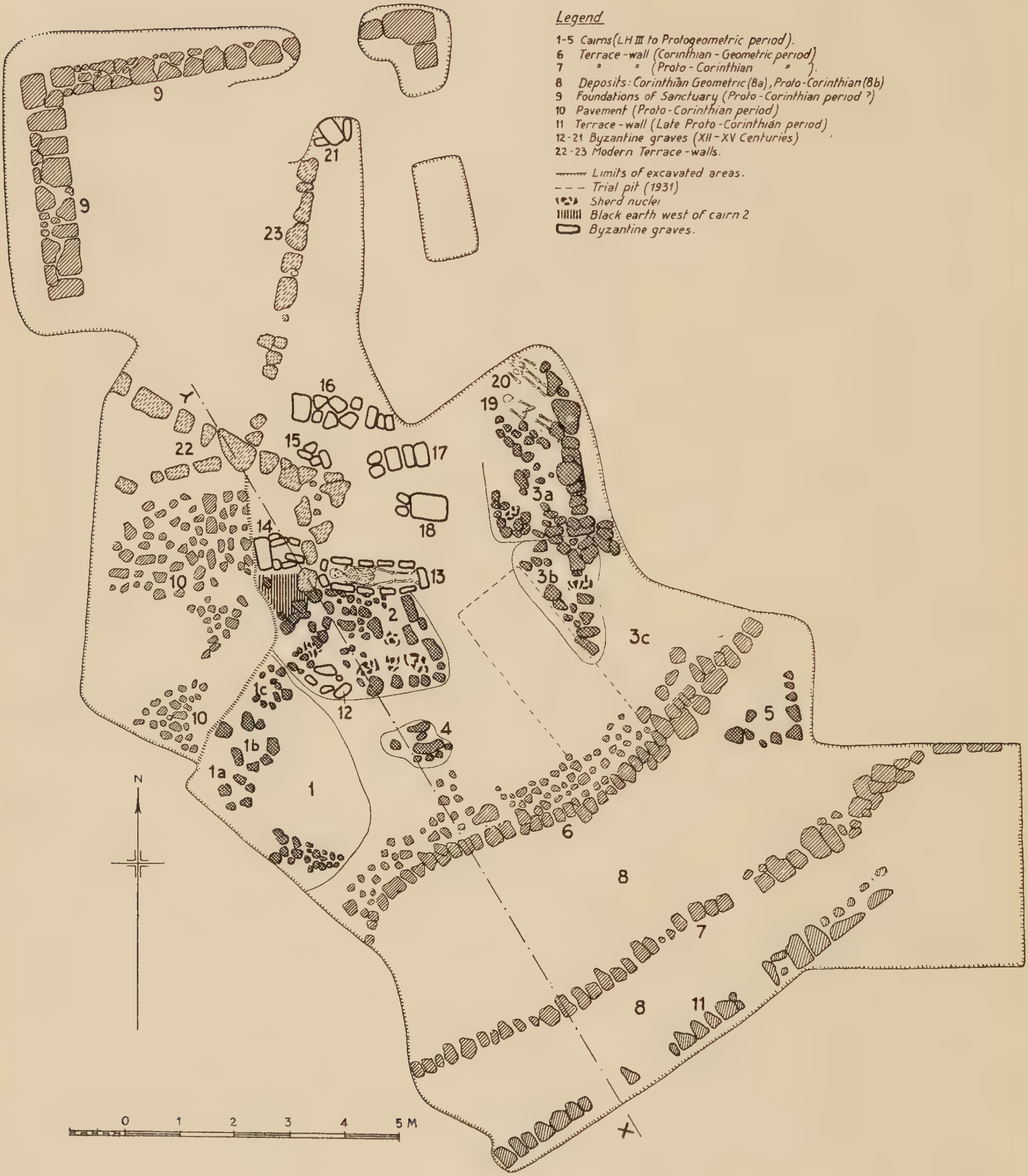
FIG. 2.—SKETCH-PLAN OF MAIN EXCAVATED AREA AND IMMEDIATE SURROUNDINGS.

Miss Lorimer's description of the cairns follows. For the sake of brevity, only the two best-preserved cairns (2 and 3) are described. 1 and 4 conform in their general character, but were found to be so much damaged that a full description seems unnecessary. Except for a few aligned stones resting on virgin soil and a few sherds there were no remains of 5, which may not be a cairn at all.

A word regarding the building to the North (Fig. 3, 9), of which only the foundations of the North and West sides are preserved. These foundations rest on virgin soil, and sherds of various kinds from Protogeometric to 5th century were found in confusion in the soil above them. This confusion is not surprising seeing that excavations licit and illicit have been made at this spot. I fancy the sanctuary was built by the Corinthians; but, whether this is so or not, the offerings were deposited not at the sanctuary but some above the cairns and most at the foot of wall 6, which was built (certainly by the first Corinthians) to delimit the cairn area and prevent its being washed away. The fact that the offerings are associated with the cairns and not with the sanctuary is in itself evidence that the cairns *are* cairns and not chance accumulations of stones.

The position of the site is at the highest point of the saddle which connects Mt. Aetós on the West with Mt. Merovígli on the East, and over which passes the road from the Port of Mólo to the Port of Pisaetó (Fig. 1; Pl. 1, 2), from where the crossing to Cephallenia is made. The saddle is roughly equidistant from the two seas. In the terraced vineyards that surround the modern chapel of St. George are many traces of ancient habitation, and on the steep scrub-covered slopes of Aetós stood a small town divided into two halves and surrounded by walls which are connected with a walled enclosure on the summit (Pl. 1). The North and South walls of the town were continued Eastwards down the slope and probably enclosed part of the saddle, on which, just North of the highest point, a small piece of polygonal wall running East and West was discovered, to the North face of which a Hellenic tower (Pl. 1; Pl. 2, 5; Fig. 2) of good fifth-century masonry seems to have been added at a later date. On the shore at Pisaetó a fine piece of wall is preserved running North and South. A study of all these walls will be made by Miss Benton, and I will only say here that they are built in different styles, polygonal and isodomic, that the pottery associated with them is mainly fifth century and that there are no remains which can definitely be assigned to the period of the cairns.[1] A local cult of some kind must be assumed to account for the cairns. When Leake visited Aetós there was a spring here from which streams flowed into the valleys on either side. These have now dried up, but the original cult may have centred round the spring.

[1] A few Protogeometric sherds were found just above virgin soil at a depth of about 3 m. in a trial-pit on the East side of the road (Pl. 1).


Legend
1-5 Cairns (LH III to Protogeometric period).
6 Terrace-wall (Corinthian-Geometric period)
7 " " (Proto-Corinthian ").
8 Deposits: Corinthian Geometric (8a), Proto-Corinthian (8b)
9 Foundations of Sanctuary (Proto-Corinthian period ?)
10 Pavement (Proto-Corinthian period)
11 Terrace-wall (Late Proto-Corinthian period)
12-21 Byzantine graves (XII-XV Centuries)
22-23 Modern Terrace-walls.
Limits of excavated areas.
Trial pit (1931)
Sherd nuclei
Black earth west of cairn 2
Byzantine graves.
N
0 1 2 3 4 5 M
Y
X
1
1a
1b
1c
2
3a
3b
3c
4
5
6
7
8
8
9
9
10
10
11
12
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23

Fig. 3.—Plan of Main Excavated Area.

The sanctity of the spot was recognised by the Corinthians, and preserved until the fifth century, as votive masks and other objects found in the neighbourhood of the sanctuary show; the tradition was remembered by the Byzantine inhabitants who sunk their cist-graves among the cairns, and revived by the modern Greeks who have built the Chapel of St. George within a few feet of the ancient sanctuary.

W. A. Heurtley.

I. The Cairns (Figs. 3–7; Pls. 1, 2).

South and South-East of this undated sanctuary and immediately North of the region of the Protocorinthian deposit lay a well-marked area characterised by curious accumulations of stones and pot-sherds whose nature cannot be determined with certainty. That they are not fortuitous the association of stone and pottery shows; moreover, each group contained a stratum of densely black earth mixed with sherds and patches of red. Further, the earth of the whole cairn area, except where it had been disturbed by terrace-making or Byzantine burials, was sufficiently blackened to form a marked contrast with the light brown of the natural soil. It would seem, therefore, that we have to do with the remains either of houses or of funerary monuments; and as the evidence, mainly negative, on the whole favours the latter alternative, the structures are described from this point of view and are provisionally called cairns. Over the whole area in the upper levels Protocorinthian sherds were found, together with a few contemporary or even later objects; they were extremely few in the brown earth East of Cairn 1, and below Protocorinthian level nothing at all was found in this quarter. Within the cairns the sherds were almost entirely of Protogeometric coarse domestic or patterned ware, together with

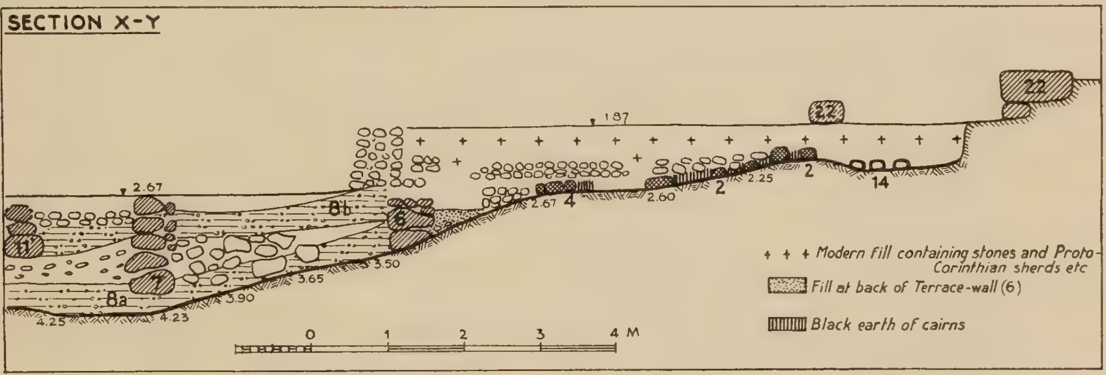
SECTION X-Y
1.87
2.67
22
22
8b
6
11
7
8a
4
2.67
2.60
2
2.25
2
14
3.50
3.65
3.90
4.25
4.23
0
1
2
3
4 M
+ + + Modern fill containing stones and Proto-Corinthian sherds etc
Fill at back of Terrace-wall (6)
Black earth of cairns

Fig. 4.—Section along Line X–Y (cf. Fig. 3).

a fair amount of LH III and a little Corinthian Geometric. With two doubtful exceptions, no Protocorinthian or later sherds were found within the cairns, which are therefore to be ascribed to the earliest period of the occupation of the site. Various small objects of a kind proper to the Geometric and Protocorinthian deposits are probably to be explained as later offerings, placed above the cairns, a few of which had found their way into the cairns themselves.[1]

North of Cairn 1 and extending about a metre farther West the upper stones of Cairn 2 appeared at level 2·10 m. They formed an upper layer with base-level 2·25 m., fairly continuous and mostly two stones deep, while beneath them on the South and East sides a line of stones whose base-level sloped from 2·45 m. to 2·60 m. marked the limit of the cairn in these directions. At one point on the South three stones had been removed to accommodate the skull of a Byzantine interment, but as they had been replaced to enclose it (Fig. 3, 12; Fig. 6 *a*), the line of the boundary was preserved. Within the boundary there were only a few stones of any size, but at six points (see Plan, Fig. 3) there were heaps of exceptionally large sherds from great vessels of coarse ware and some fragments of tile, while the whole floor was stained red by the disintegration of yet others. The Southern limit broke off to the West, where a sharp rise of ·18 m. to ·20 m. in the level of *stereo* occurred, but the 2·10 m. stratum of black and red earth, stone and sherds extended ·90 m. farther West. The limits of the cairn on the higher level cannot be determined; it was probably encroached upon by the seventh-century pavement to the West and South-West, and certainly by the Byzantine graves 13 and 14 to the North. The former cut right through the black stratum, which, however, reappeared just beyond the North-East corner of grave 13, yielding between levels 2·25 m. and 2·37 m. a number of small objects, probably later offerings, *viz.* a bronze finger-ring, the head of a pair of bronze tweezers, three amber beads, and several of glass and bronze. On the West margin, at level 2·27 m., was found the upper part of a bronze pin with a flat terminal disc and a single swelling of the shank a little below it (Fig. 44, no. 117). This may belong to the original grave-goods, since the type is Protogeometric in origin,[2] but the specimens from Salamis, Mouliani and Vrókastro either have nothing to mark the head, or else a mere thickening. The approximation of this specimen to the regular Protocorinthian type with its terminal disc and two small swellings suggests that it comes late in the series. This would agree with the pottery of the cairn, which included several fragments of flat-

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[1] All pottery and objects later than Protogeometric from the cairn area will be included in the study of the Corinthian Geometric and Protocorinthian deposits found South of wall 6. This study is to be made shortly by Mr. M. Robertson and will, it is hoped, appear in a later volume of the *Annual*.

[2] Cf. *B.S.A.* xxviii, p. 177.

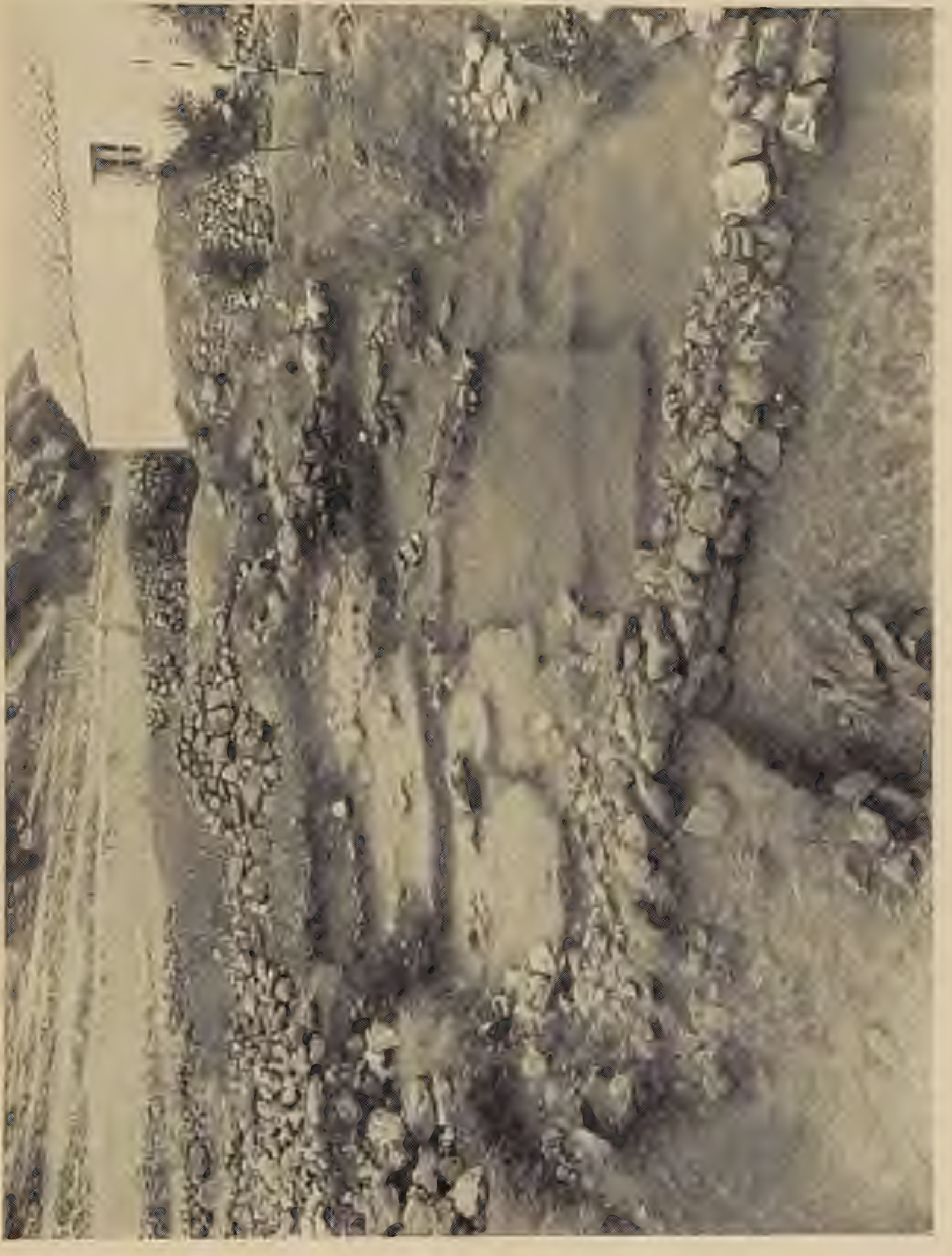

Fig. 5.—Aetós: Main Excavated Area at End of 1932 Season, from East.

In foreground were the Corinthian Geometric and Protocorinthian deposits; behind them Wall 6; behind Wall 6, the Cairn Area; 3 *b* is visible on the right; in the middle distance (right) Byzantine cist-graves.

bottomed cups which come very near to the Corinthian Geometric cups (*e.g.* Fig. 18, no. 54) in form; it is not, however, quite certain that the pin belongs to the cairn. In its neighbourhood were found several roughly-made miniature cups (Fig. 38, nos. 112, 113) of a type fairly common on the site. The higher part of the cairn was divided from the lower by a row of stones resting on virgin soil and following the line of the drop in the level of *stereo*. This circumstance suggested that the cairn, though certainly forming one whole, since the black stratum extended over both portions, might have been built in successive instalments for a series of depositions. The pottery, however, does not support this hypothesis. Apart from the rough domestic ware which formed the bulk of it, almost all the sherds were patterned Protogeometric and were found equally in all parts. Of the not very numerous Corinthian Geometric one sherd was found in the higher part. It is true that two sherds of fine Protocorinthian were found just within the stones of the South-East extremity, but as there is no other certain instance and only one doubtful one of anything Protocorinthian being found within a cairn, it is probable that they are intrusive. The enormous accumulations of rough ware in the eastern part looked as though they might mark successive depositions, but the presence of tile and the fact that it was impossible to reconstruct from any group of sherds anything like a complete pot point rather to broken earthenware being used as an alternative to stone in building the mound. The sherds may represent the vessels of the funeral feast, deliberately shattered and dispersed.[1] Apart from the coarse plain ware most of the sherds of Cairn 2 came from large Protogeometric vases decorated with bands of black glaze-paint.

Cairn 3 (Figs. 6 *b*; 7 *a*, *b*), which lies to the West and North-West of the others, probably represents two contiguous mounds, distinguished on the plan as 3 *a* and 3 *b*. What is there shown as the South part of 3 *b* was removed at the beginning of the 1932 campaign, when it was still regarded as part of the ruins of a house destroyed by fire, and it is probable that a few scattered stones were then removed without record from the South face of 3 *a*.

Originally 3 *b* had extended over a metre further West, for its black stratum accompanied by formless groups of stones had appeared in the pit opened at the end of the 1931 campaign (Fig. 3).

At the middle of 3 *a* black earth began at 1·86 m., and between that level and 1·92 m. was found a Byzantine glazed sherd (12th–15th cent.)[2] and a Corinthian Geometric fragment, and just above 2·00 m. a Protocorinthian fragment, both of which are probably intrusive. At 2·02 m. the stones of the topmost layer were visible (Fig. 7 *a*); they were discontinuous, interspersed with sherds (Fig. 7 *a*) and intensely black earth. The sherds were mostly of coarse Protogeometric ware, and even the finer pieces were mostly undecorated. There were also the usual red patches and a large quantity of tile. To the East and South the cairn was bounded by a single course of large stones forming the kind of retaining wall (Fig. 7 *b*) already noticed in the case of cairn 1. The earth of the whole area was extremely black except in the North-East angle, where it was brown, a sure indication of disturbance, though still mixed with abundant sherds of coarse domestic ware. The disturbing cause was found between levels 2·20 m. and 2·60 m. in the two Byzantine graves 19 and 20 (Fig. 3). When the retaining wall on the East was removed, the earth under it was found to be black, and outside the wall many sherds of the familiar coarse variety were found in brown earth. They had doubtless been thrown out on the occasion of the Byzantine interments, while others had been shovelled back above the graves; only so can the presence of prehistoric sherds immediately above Byzantine graves be accounted for. No doubt the Byzantine sherd noted above made its way in on the same occasion, and possibly the Geometric and Protocorinthian fragments also. West of these graves the black stratum showed in the face of the unexcavated area to the North between levels 2·38 m. and 2·53 m. The drop from 1·86 m., the level at which black earth appeared above the stones, shows that the cairn must have terminated a very little way to the North. The black earth continued down to virgin soil, which under the stones was not reached till 2·70 m., whereas the base-level of the stones was 2·84 m. to the West and 2·52 m. to the East. Below the layer of sherds and stones at 2·02 m. came two layers of stones fairly continuous, and covering the same area; they yielded few sherds, but many fragments of bone.

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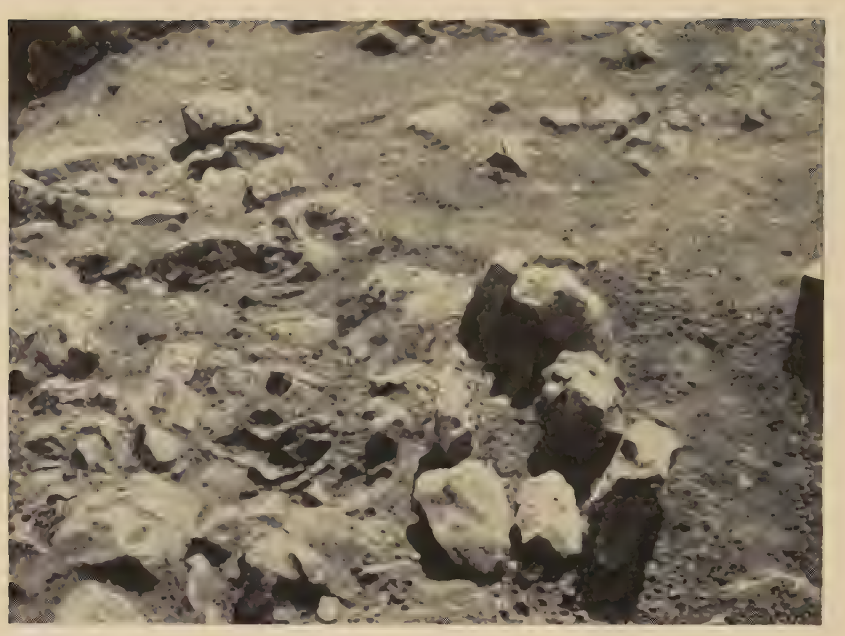
[1] Cf. Persson, *The Royal Tombs of Dendra*, p. 70. Sherds of the same large jar were found in the king's burial-pit and in another pit in the floor of the tomb.

[2] Mr. A. Benaki kindly gave this information.

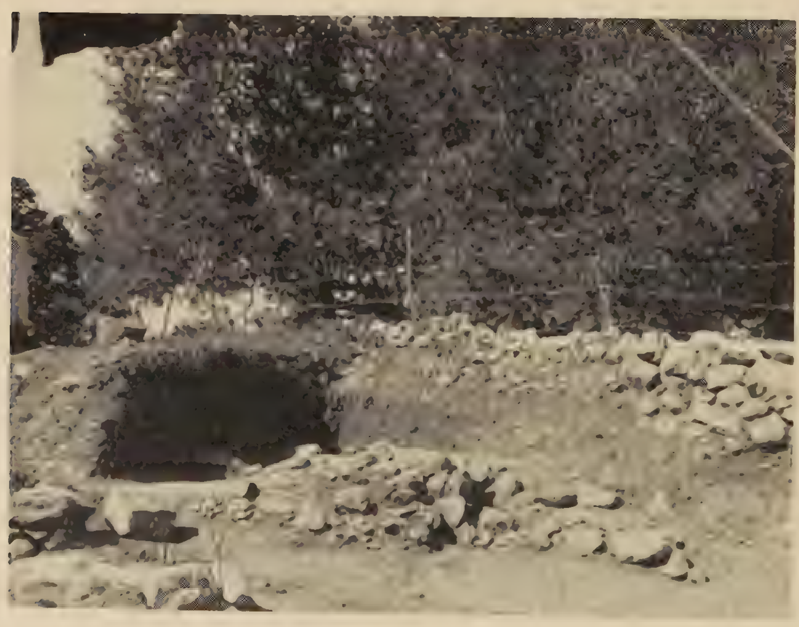
In 3 *b* (Fig. 6 *b*) black earth began at level 2·05 m. and continued down to virgin soil at 2·65–2·75 m.; the stones lay between 2·32 m. and 2·55 m., and in the Northern part were arranged in two layers. For the lowest stone of the Southern part a bed had been cut in *stereo*. Above the Southern part were found between levels 2·00 m. and 2·25 m. abundant sherds of Corinthian Geometric, including two with a large design of hatched maeander, and some small objects such as occurred in the Protocorinthian deposit. Below 2·25 m. no Protocorinthian was found, but a good deal of coarse and fine Protogeometric, including the two vases, 14 (Fig. 11) and 71 (Fig. 22), and some miniature rough cups.

In the spaces between the stones were found at one point fragments of a large pot, and under them scraps of bone which appeared to have been burned, and at another one of the characteristic heaps of sherds. Another such heap occurred in the Northern part at level 2·45 m.; it contained the fragment of a four-lugged pan (like no. 109, Fig. 31; 108, Fig. 37).

It is probable that 3 *b* occupied a good deal of the space marked 3 *c* on the plan. The black stratum appeared in the East face of the excavation



a



b

Fig. 6.—*a*, Cairn 2 from West, showing Byzantine Burial (right) and Sherd Nuclei; *b*, Cairn 3 *a* and *b*, from South.

up to a point ·50 m. South of 3 *b*, but it did not extend into the trial pit; it reappeared, however, together with a few sherds of the usual cairn types among and under the lowest stones of the ancient terrace-wall (6 on plan, Fig. 3). South of 3 *b*, *stereo* sloped sharply downwards and was cut out to form a bed for the stones in question and, less deeply, to admit the edges of the second course. It seems probable, therefore, that 3 *b* originally extended as far as this wall, which may have been built to mark off the cemetery when it ceased to be used; [1] or the lowest course may have been a retaining wall contemporary with the cairn. 3 *c* contained brown earth only, though of a shade rather darker than that of the natural soil; it yielded a number of sherds at different levels, but all of familiar cairn types, perhaps cairn material, which was used as a fill for the terrace wall, as was found to be the case further West. A small round-mouthed oinochoe (Fig. 22, no. 72), found immediately South of 3 *b* between levels 2·55 m. and 2·65 m., may have been in its original position. One patterned sherd makes an incontestable join with a sherd from 3 *a*. This may suggest, but does not prove, that 3 *a* and 3 *b* were parts of one great cairn. If it was customary, as has been suggested, to break the vessels used at funerals and scatter the fragments, one sherd might easily be found at this distance from 3 *a*; or it may have been thrown out when the Byzantine graves were dug.

The somewhat blackened earth characteristic of the whole cairn area (except where interrupted by the Byzantine graves 13, 17 and 18) filled the space between cairns 2 and 3, exhibiting a few red patches and yielding occasional Protogeometric sherds. Farther North, however, above the Byzantine graves 15 and 16 and extending into the trench between the modern terrace-wall and the Eastern limit of the excavation, the earth from an average level of 2·00–2·20 m. down to virgin soil, though extremely black, was of a different and peculiar character. Stiff, greasy, and tending to cake when exposed to the sun, it showed no red patches and was practically devoid of sherds. The very few which occurred were featureless and probably late.

It will be convenient to postpone the consideration of this region and to examine first the character of the cairns. As has been said, they can hardly be anything but the remains of houses or of tombs. The presence of a good deal of tile in 2 and 3, the best-preserved examples, at first sight favours the interpretation as houses. On the other hand, the total absence of ground-plan, foundations and household implements seems hardly reconcilable with it; and if such immense quantities of sherds were found within houses, it should have been possible to reconstruct a very large number of vases, whereas, in fact, the failure to do so was almost complete.

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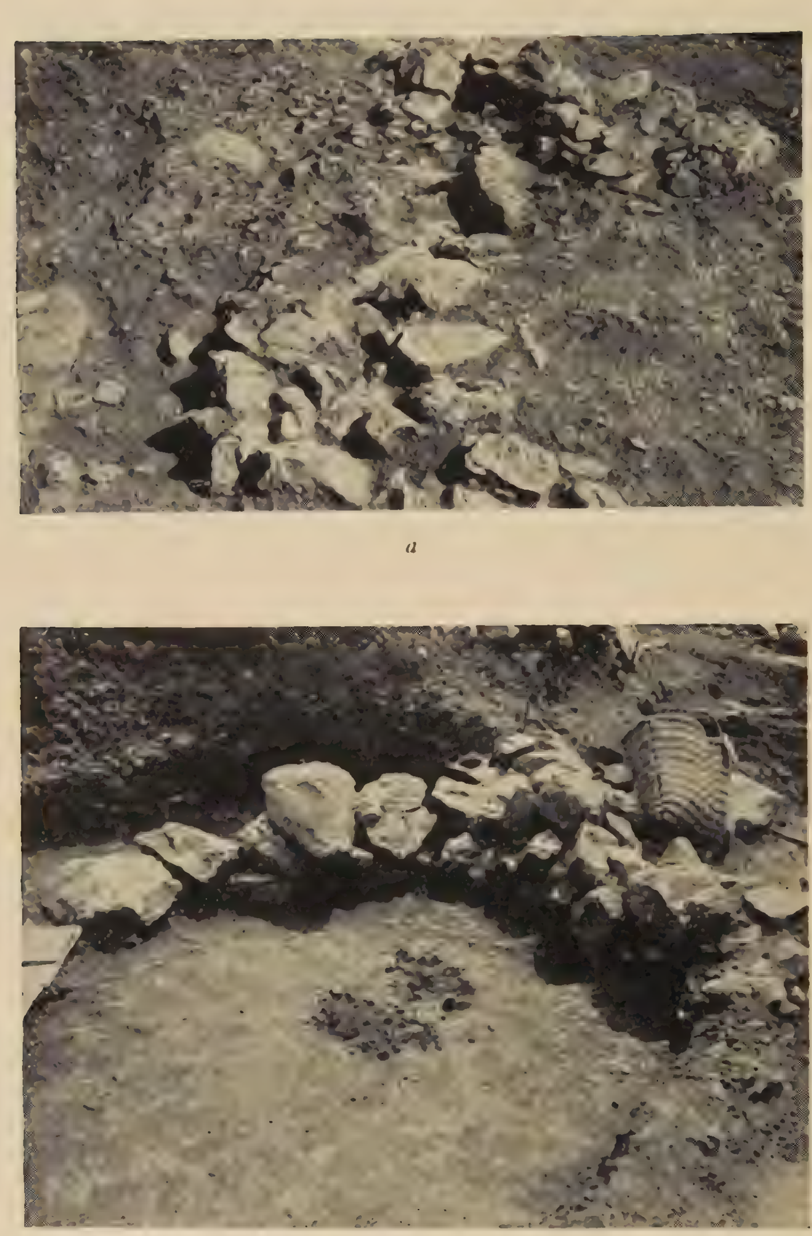
[1] 5, if it is a cairn, was for some reason excluded.



a

b

FIG. 7.—*a*, TOP OF CAIRN 3 *a* FROM NORTH, SHOWING SHERD NUCLEUS; *b*, CAIRN 3 *a* FROM WEST, AFTER REMOVAL OF CENTRE PART, SHOWING RETAINING WALL.

In the only cases where stones were found embedded in virgin soil, they were at the centre of the structure, and not where one would look for house-foundations, on the edge. To the interpretation as memorial cairns there does not seem to be any insuperable objection. It is true that no certainly human remains have been found.[1] Fragments of bone were found in all the cairns and sporadically all over the cairn area; some undoubtedly came from the bones of birds and animals, but the great majority were too fragmentary to admit of identification. The two groups of apparently burned bones from 1 and 3 were unfortunately in the latter category. If, however, the cairns had been raised over uncremated corpses, traces of bones would have been found lying in something like the order of a skeleton, whereas the small fragments actually found were scattered at random and occurred at all levels. Cremated bones, however, would have little chance of resisting the corrosive action of the soil, and, in fact, in cremation and even in inhumation graves it is quite common to find no human remains [2] unless the ashes have been placed in an urn. Undoubtedly the majority of these bones came from funeral offerings or funeral feast, and whether cooked or no, were not cremated. If, however, cremation was practised at Aetós, the bodies were not burned on the sites of the cairns, for nowhere was the earth baked hard, as it would be on the site of a pyre. This suggests a possible explanation of the greasy black earth described above. Such earth has been noted where bodies have been somewhat imperfectly burned [3]; and if the cairns are funeral monuments, it may be that they commemorated cremations and that the greasy earth marks the place of the *ustrinum*. The cremation of Patroklos, however poetically enhanced, must have a foundation in reality; and if it were customary to lap the body in fat and burn carcases along with it, the site of the pyre would on each occasion be saturated with grease. That here also there was no trace of earth baked hard by repeated fires is not an insuperable objection, for all such traces might well be destroyed when the Byzantine graves were dug. That these graves were not, like the others, associated with intrusive brown earth may be explained by the fact that the diggers encountered no stones as they did in the cairns and merely replaced the black earth which they had removed. If this explanation is correct, the stratum of black earth in each of the cairns are the remains of the pyre, shovelled up along with the the bones and carried from the *ustrinum* to the site of the cairn. Over them the mound of stones, sherds and earth would be built, for except in the somewhat doubtful case of a group of sherds from 1, the pottery showed no traces of fire.

Chronologically there is no objection to the theory of cremation, which is found on other Protogeometric sites[1]; but the evidence at Aetós is obviously insufficient, and there does not seem to be any prospect of attaining to greater certainty unless some kindred but less enigmatic cemetery is discovered. At Hálos, which affords the nearest parallel, the evidence was explicit; the cairns were raised on the sites of the pyres, the ground under them was baked hard, and there were recognisable human remains.

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[1] A report on the bones is awaited.

[2] See *e.g.* Ure, *Sixth and Fifth Century Pottery from Rhitsona*, pp. 3 and 4.

[3] See Olshausen, *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 1892, p. 139.

The Pavement.

This area was opened immediately to the West of cairns 1 and 2 to find the limit of the black stratum in this direction. At level 1·60 m., about ·30 m. below the surface, two female terracotta masks of the ordinary classical type were found. Immediately below this level a black stratum of the average depth of ·12 m. appeared in the North-West part of the area; it contained numerous fragments of roof-tile, but very few sherds, and those only of rough and featureless ware. This stratum presumably marks the latest ancient occupation of the site.

At level 1·84 m. a very rough pavement was reached (10 on plan, Fig. 3) which had no doubt originally formed a rectangle, though now showing triangular gaps both to East and West. After an interval of light brown and unproductive earth the black stratum was reached at a level which varied from 2·20 m. to 2·25 m.; its maximum depth was ·04 m. and it contained a few scattered sherds of Protocorinthian. A 'pilgrim flask' with concentric circles on the sides (no. 74; Figs. 24, 25) was found, resting on the black stratum, and slightly lower, the upper part of a typical Protocorinthian pin and a small perforated disc (Fig. 43, no. 121). The black stratum rested on virgin soil. As nothing later than Protocorinthian was found, the pavement must have been laid down early, presumably not much after 700 B.C.

H. L. Lorimer.

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[1] *E.g.* at Moulianá, Vrókastro, Assarlik, and in the Kerameikós at Athens. If it was indeed practised at so distant a site as Aetós, the unitary quality of Protogeometric culture, to which Wide long ago called attention, receives fresh illustration.

II. INVENTORY.

The finds here described come from:—

1. The cairns.[1]
2. Among the stones between the cairns.[2]
3. The fill at the back of the terrace-wall 6 (Fig. 4) which was probably built to level up and delimit the cairn area. It was against the South face of this wall that the Geometric and Protocorinthian offerings accumulated.
4. Deposits from three trial-pits (B 6, B 8, B 10)[3] perhaps continuous with the cairn area, of which the limits, except on the East, are not absolutely certain: and from two (B 5, B 7) which were eventually absorbed in the excavated area.[4]

THE POTTERY (Figs. 8–40; Pls. 3–6).

Wheel-made. The vases are well baked, but the clay, which is probably local, seems to have been not well adapted for pot-making, since at the unpainted parts of the surface and in the break it is soft and powdery. The colour is normally buff, sometimes greenish-white. A thin mechanical slip of the same colour as the clay forms the ground for the paint, which sometimes covers the whole surface, sometimes is applied only as ornament. As in the case of good Mycenaean pottery, the colour is dark or light according to the flow of paint in the brush or the pressure of the stroke. Thus black or dark brown thin out to lighter tones of the same colour, or, alternately, a short light line may end in a thick dark blob. Deep red thins out to pink, and brown and black have often a blue or purplish tinge. The light tones are also due to some extent to the fact that much of the paint adhered to the ground when the sherds were removed, and even the most careful washing tended further to weaken the colours. If the paint ever had a lustrous quality, this has now disappeared, and it seems that both clay and paint were indifferent. Only in the case of a few sherds, probably imported, has the paint retained its original lustre and the unpainted parts their firm and polished surface.

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[1] Cf. Fig. 3, 1–5.

[2] Denoted in the inventory *N.C.* (= not cairns).

[3] Cf. Fig. 2.

[4] B 5 at South end of West wall of Sanctuary (Fig. 3, 9); B 7 at extreme South of excavated area.

A. *Kylikes.*

1 (Fig. 8). Foot and part of stem. Poorly baked clay; buff, with traces of red lustrous paint. *3 c.*

2 (Fig. 8). Part of stem. Light buff clay. (Found at top of upper Protocorinthian deposit (Fig. 4, 8 *b*) immediately East of wall 6.)

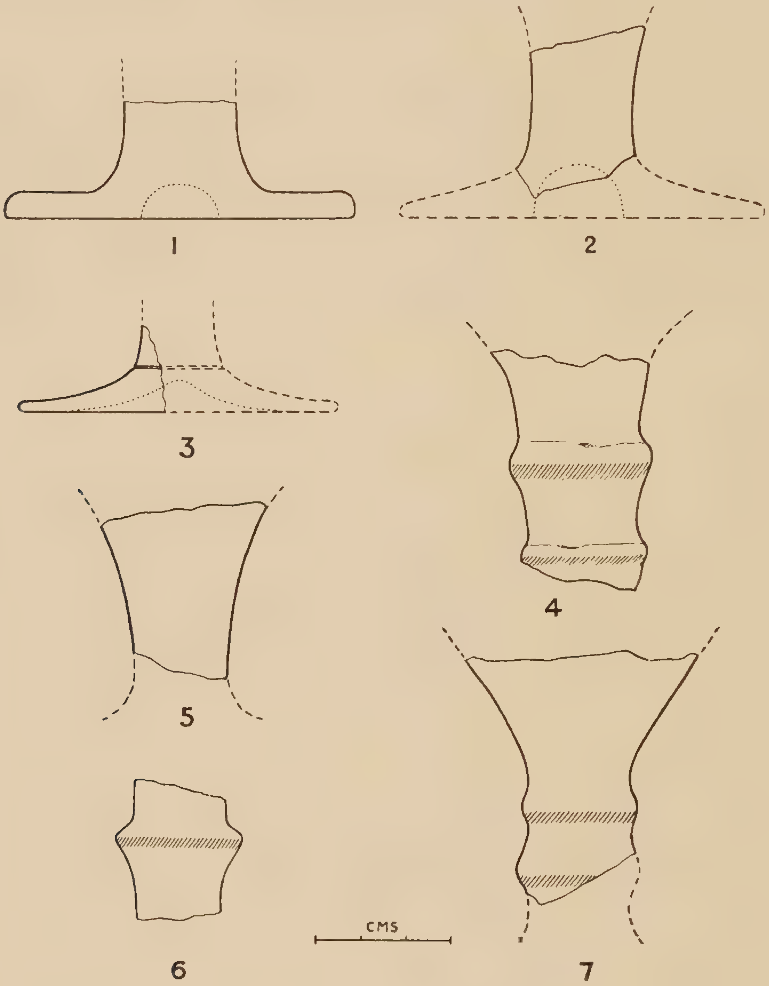

Fig. 8.—Pottery of Class A.

3 (Fig. 8). Part of foot and stem: slightly moulded ring at base of stem. Buff clay, traces of black paint. *N.C.*

4 (Fig. 8). Part of ringed stem. Red clay. (Found in B 7, just above virgin soil.)

5 (Fig. 8). Part of stem. Coated with red paint. (Found in B 6, a little above virgin soil.)

6 (Fig. 8). Part of ringed stem. Reddish-buff clay with traces of zones of black paint. (Found in B 10, a little above virgin soil.)

7 (Fig. 8). Part of ringed stem. Buff clay. (Found in B 8, a little above virgin soil.)

B. *Stirrup-vases.*

8 (Fig. 9). Part of disc and handle. Buff clay, lustrous chocolate paint. Imported LH III. *3 a.*

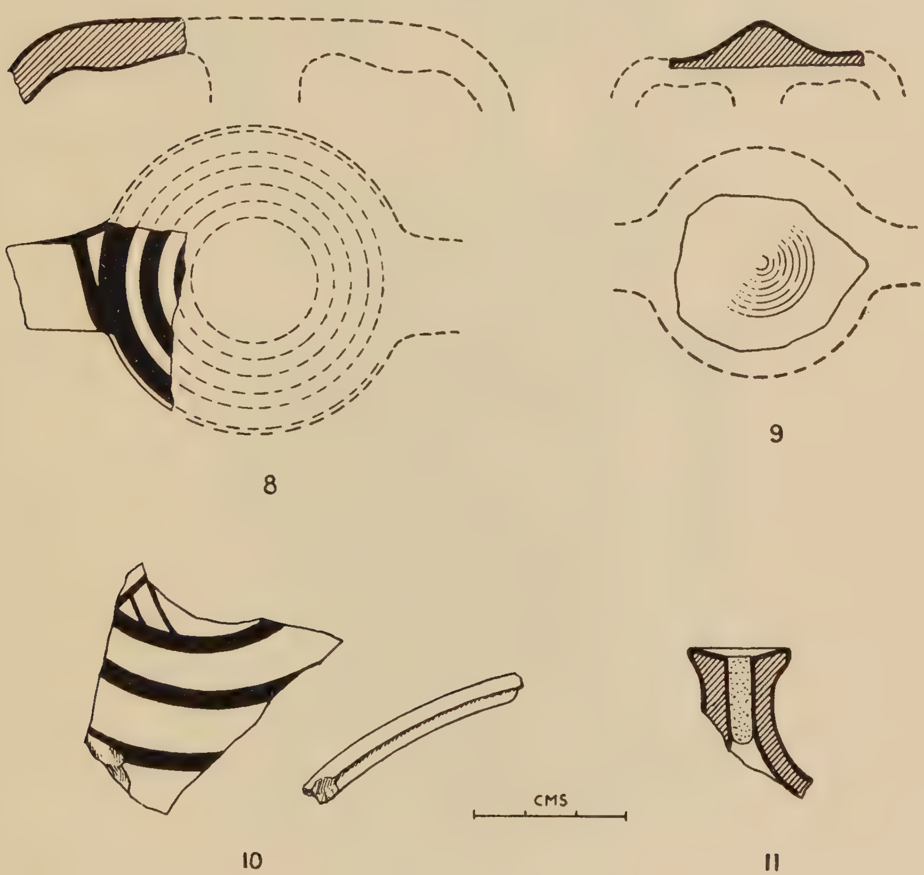

Fig. 9.—Pottery of Class B.

9 (Fig. 9). Part of knobbed disc, which was made as a separate piece and plastered on top of the false spout. Traces of dark paint. *3 c.*

10 (Fig. 9). Part of shoulder: made in two layers stamped together. Dark lustrous paint. Imported LH III. (Found in fill at back of wall 6.)

11 (Fig. 9). Spout, stopped with clay. (Found below foundation of wall 6.)

C. *Bowls with two horizontal loop-handles.*

12 (Fig. 10). Buff clay coated outside and inside[1] with bright red lustrous paint, much perished. Imported LH III. *3 b.*

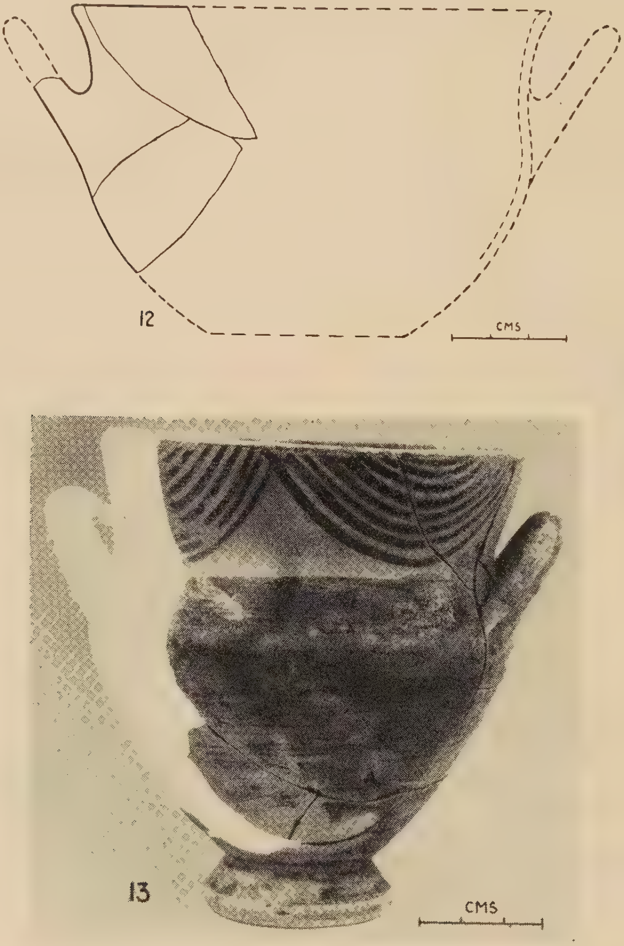

Fig. 10.—Bowls of Class C.

13 (Fig. 10). Hollow conical foot. Purplish paint on buff; same ornament on reverse. *3 b.*

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[1] All bowls of this and the following category are coated inside.

14 (Fig. 11). Reconstructed as last. Faded reddish-brown paint on light buff. Inside, reserved disc at base. *4.*

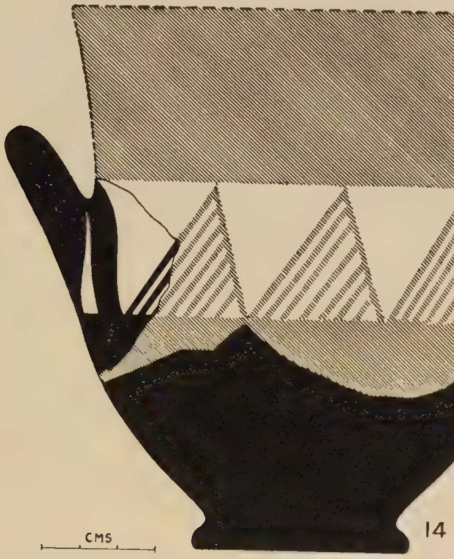

Fig. 11.—Bowl of Class C.

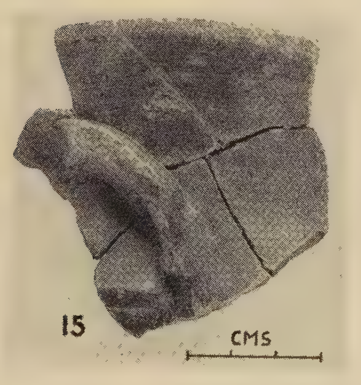

Fig. 12.—Fragment of Bowl of Class C.

15 (Fig. 12). Part of bowl of same form as 13. Dark purplish paint on buff. Reserved shoulder zone, perhaps ornamented as 14. *3 b.*

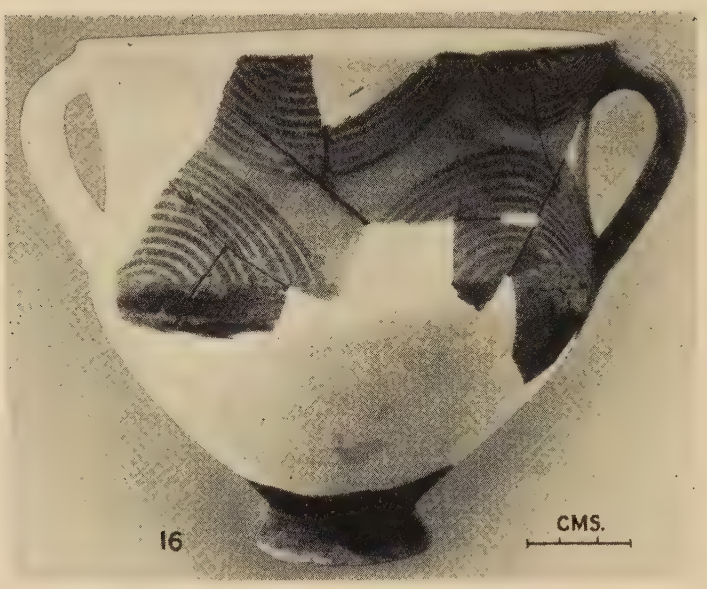

Fig. 13.—Bowl of Class D.

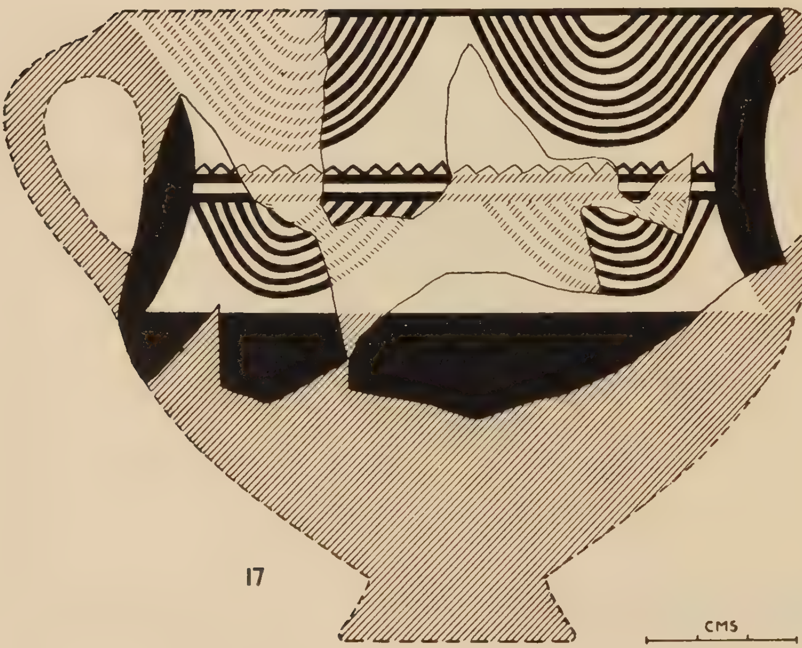

Fig. 14.—Bowl of Class D (reconstructed).

D. *Bowls with one*[1] *or two vertical handles.*

16 (Fig. 13). The hollow foot was found along with the other pieces and almost certainly belongs. Dark to light purplish paint on buff. *3b.*

17 (Fig. 14). Faded black on greyish-white. *3 b.*

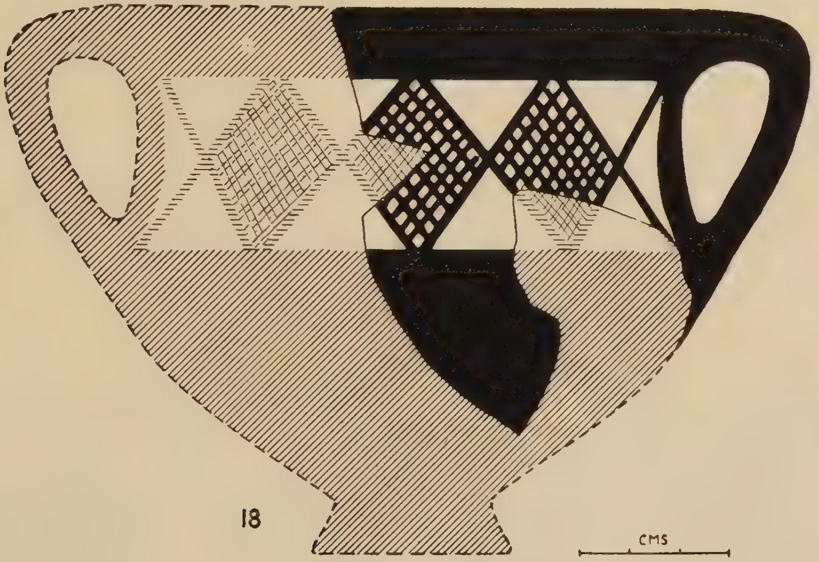

FIG. 15.—BOWL OF CLASS D (RECONSTRUCTED).

18 (Fig. 15). Bright red paint, firing to brown on reverse; reserved zone on inside of lip. *3 b.*

19–25 (Pl. 3). Parts of bowls of categories C and D with rectilinear ornament. 19–22, dark brown paint with bluish tinge on buff. *3 b.* 23–25, black on buff. *3 c.*

26–31 (Pl. 3). Parts of bowls as last, with rectilinear ornament. 26 *a*, 26 *b*, dark to light brown on buff; note the plastic incised ring as in the kraters. *N.C.* 27, brown on buff. *N.C.* 28, faded brown on buff. *3 b.* 29, dark red on whitish slip. *N.C.* 30, rim slightly flanged on the inside; black to brown on buff. *3 c.* 31, black to reddish-brown on buff. *3 b.*

32–35 (Pl. 3). Parts of bowls as last with curvilinear ornament drawn with a multiple brush. 32, 33, faded reddish-brown on buff. *N.C.* 34, faded black on greenish-grey. *2.* 35, faded reddish-brown on buff. *2.*

36–49, 51 (Pl. 4). As last, but with freehand curvilinear ornament. 36, faded black on greyish-white. *3 c.* 37, faded reddish-brown on buff. *2.* 38, similar. *4.* 40, similar. *2.* 42, similar. *N.C.* 43, similar. *2.* 44, similar. *N.C.* 46, similar. *2.* 39, faded black on greyish-white. *3 c.* 41, similar. *3 a.* 45, similar. *3 c.* 47, 48, faded brown on buff. *2.* 49, same on greyish-white. *N.C.* 51, faded black on greyish ground. *N.C.*

50 (Fig. 40, 6). Part of large bowl, probably of category D. Faded black paint on greyish-white ground. 3 *a.*

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[1] On the analogy of vases from Pólis.

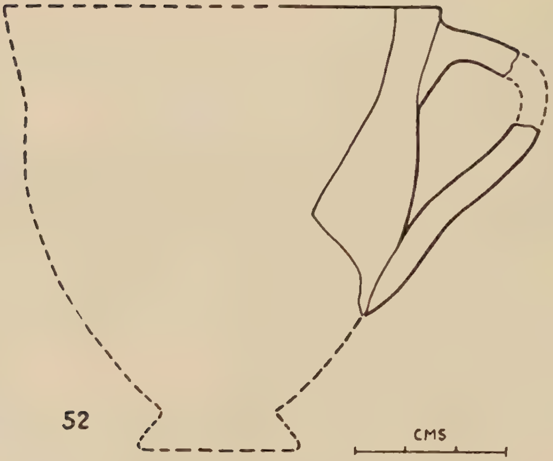

FIG. 16.—CUP OF CLASS D.

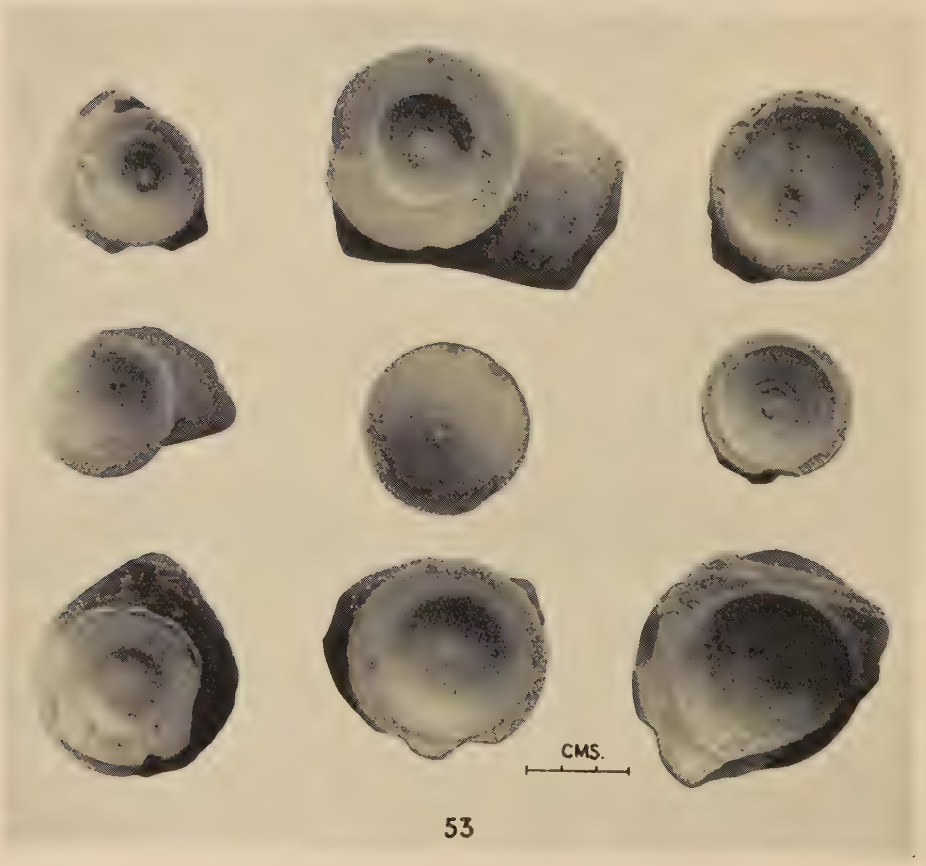

FIG. 17.—BASES OF BOWLS, CLASSES C AND D.

52 (Fig. 16). Coated with brownish paint. *N.C.*
53 (Fig. 17). Bases of bowls of categories C and D.

E. *Shallow cups with flat bases.*

54 (Fig. 18). Faded dark paint on greyish ground. Fragments of several cups of similar form and with similar ornament were found in this cairn, but not in any of the others.[1] *2.*

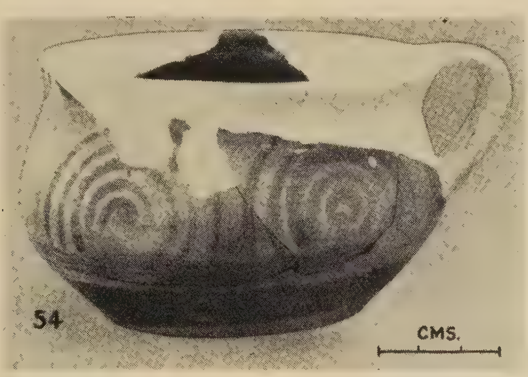

FIG. 18.—CUP OF CLASS E.

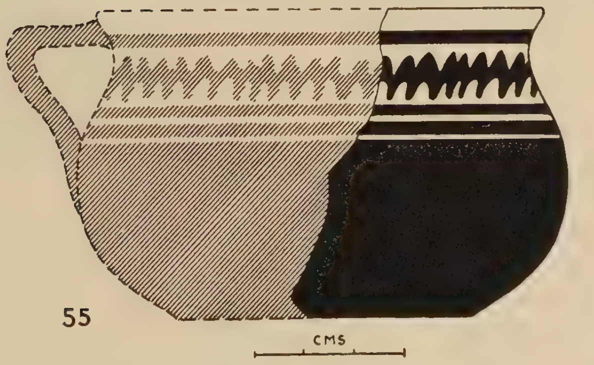

FIG. 19.—CUP OF CLASS E.

55 (Fig. 19). Faded purplish paint on greyish-white ground. *N.C.*

F. *Kraters.*

The form is that of the cups of categories C and D, the difference being in size and thickness of walls. These kraters seem to have had low ring- or flat bases;

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[1] Cf. p. 30.

moulded rings below the rim are common. One perhaps had rope-handles (Pl. 6 no. 92), one double loop-handles (Pl. 5 no. 68) and one bridge-handles (Pl. 5 no. 69). The inside is always coated with paint.

56 (Pl. 5; Fig. 20). Faded black on greyish-white ground. As far as can be made out, the ornament is as follows; left, cross-hatched triangles on either side of a vertical stripe; centre, solid double-axe flanked by rows of dots; right, net pattern with dots in the meshes: almost 'Close' Style. Diam. *ca.* 30 cm. *2.*

57 (Pl. 5). Black to light brown on buff. *4.*

58 (Pl. 5). Black to brown on buff; ornament below plastic rings cross-hatched triangles (?); rim barred. *N.C.*

59 (Pl. 5; Fig. 20). Black to brown paint; concentric loops on rim. *4.*

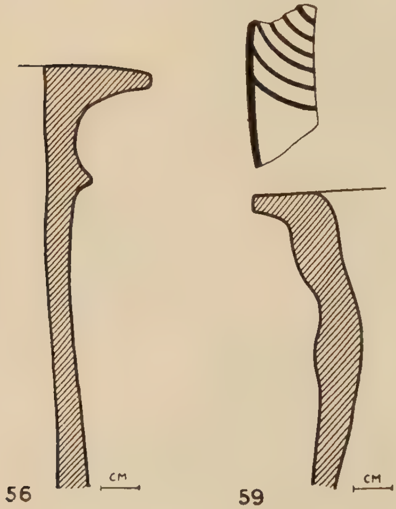

FIG. 20.—POTTERY OF CLASS F IN SECTION.

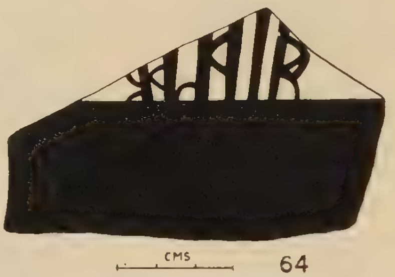

FIG. 21.—SHERD OF CLASS F.

60, 61 (Pl. 5). Fragments with incised plastic rings. *2.*

62 (Pl. 5). Part of body. Purplish paint on buff. *2.*

63 (Pl. 5). Part of body. Black to brown on buff. *N.C.*

64 (Fig. 21). Lower part of body. Faded red on buff; 'Close' style. *3 a.*

65 (Pl. 5). Part of body. Faded black on greyish-white. *N.C.*

66 (Pl. 5). Part of body. Faded brown on buff. (Found in fill at back of wall 6.)

67 (Pl. 5; Fig. 40, 16). Part of body. Faded black on greyish-white. *2.*

68 (Pl. 5). Double loop-handle. Bars on central stripe; faded brown on light buff. *2.*

69 (Pl. 5). Bridge loop-handle. Completely coated with black paint. *3 a.*

70 (Pl. 5). Part of rim and grooved handle. Coated with dark brown paint; rim barred. *2.*

G. *Small jugs or bottles.*

71 (Fig. 22). Light buff; originally coated with dark paint, now almost entirely perished. *3 b.*

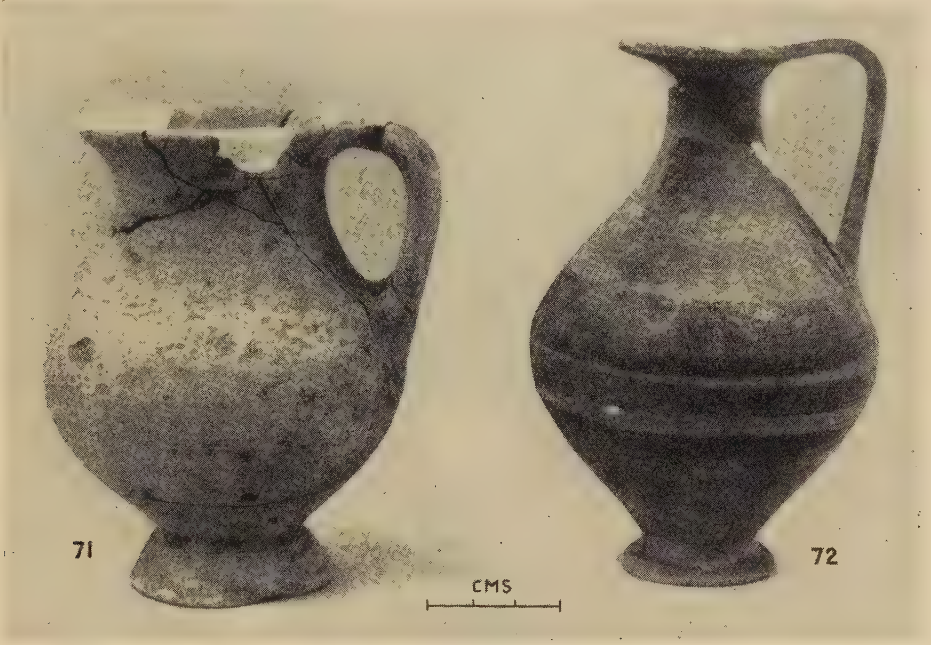

Fig. 22.—Jugs of Class G.

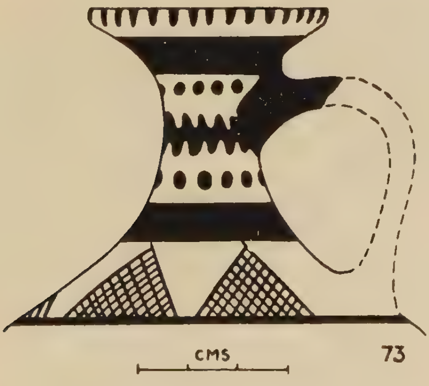

Fig. 23.—Decoration on Upper Part of Jug, Class G.

72 (Fig. 22). Faded reddish-brown on buff; on the shoulder roughly drawn parallel zigzags; painted zone on inside of lip. *3 a.*

73 (Fig. 23). Black to brown on buff. *2.*

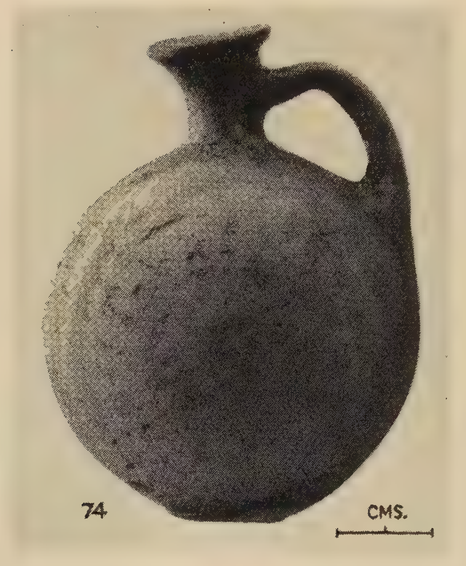

Fig. 24.—Pilgrim Flask, Class H.

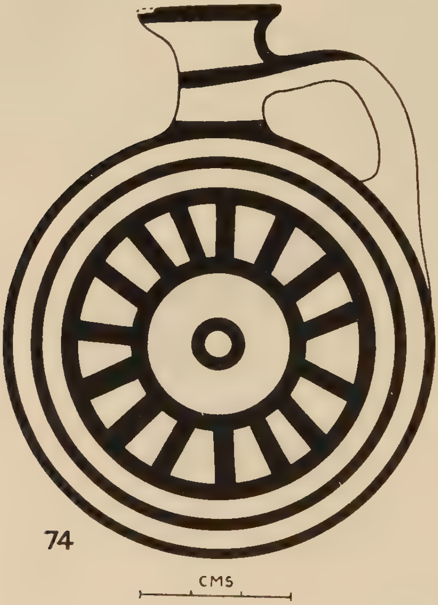

Fig. 25.—Pilgrim Flask, Class H.

H. *Pilgrim Flask.*

74 (Figs. 24, 25). Faded dark paint on buff. (Found west of cairn 2, below paving.)[1] *N.C.*

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[1] Cf. p. 36. In Fig. 24 the base wrongly appears to be flat; the drawing Fig. 25 gives it correctly.

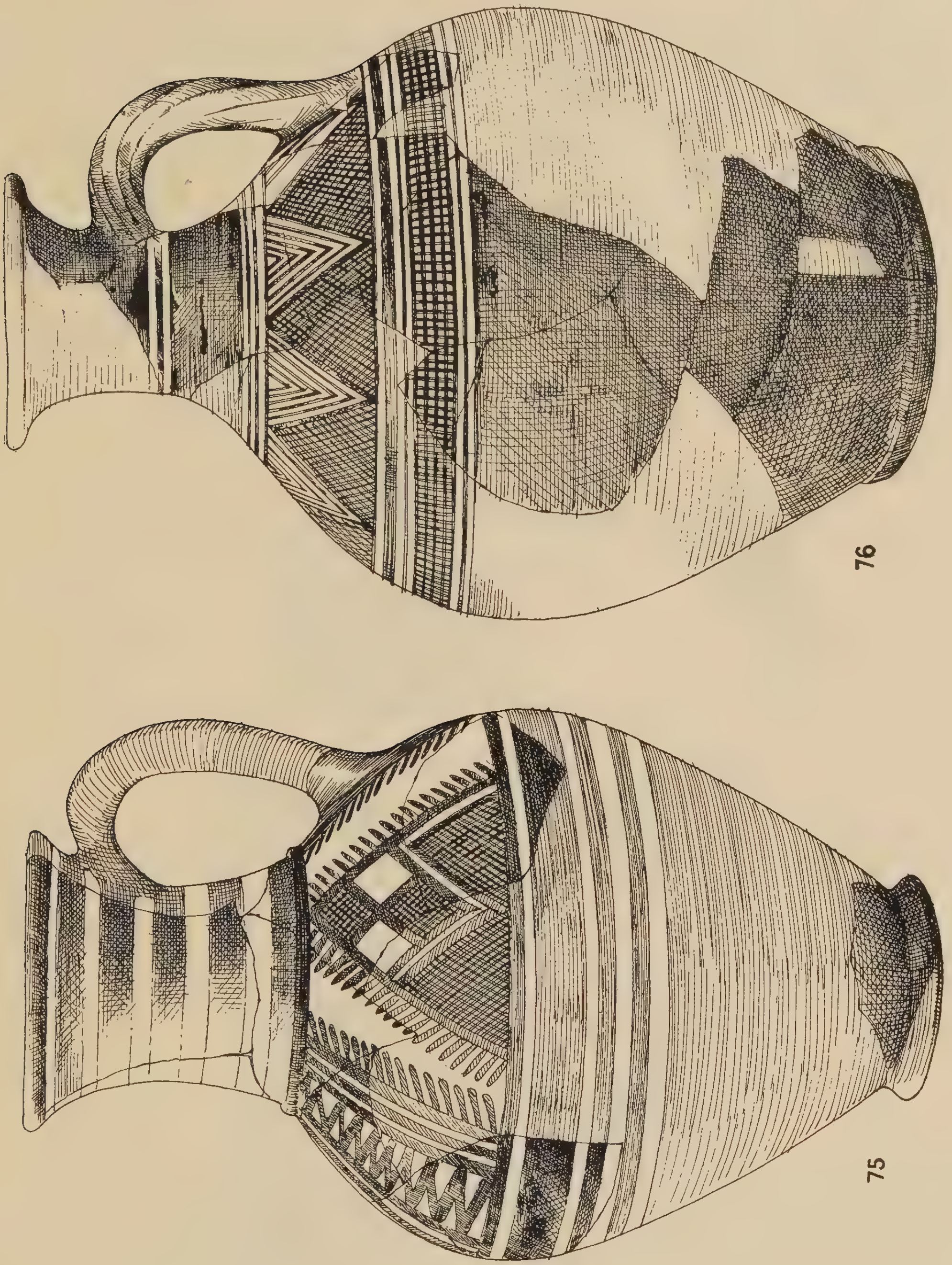

FIG. 26.—JUGS OF CLASS I.

I. *Oinochoai.*

75 (Fig. 26). Faded red paint on reddish clay. *3 c.*

76 (Fig. 26). Faded purplish paint on greenish clay. (Found in fill at back of wall 6.)

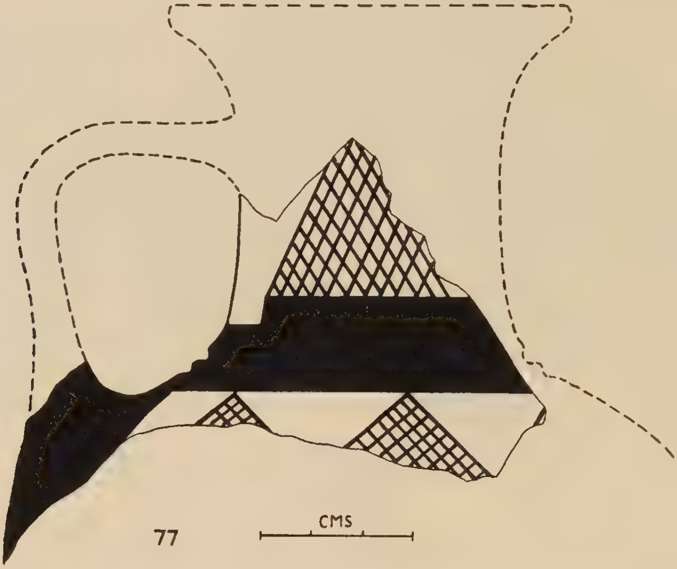

FIG. 27.—FRAGMENT OF JUG, CLASS I.

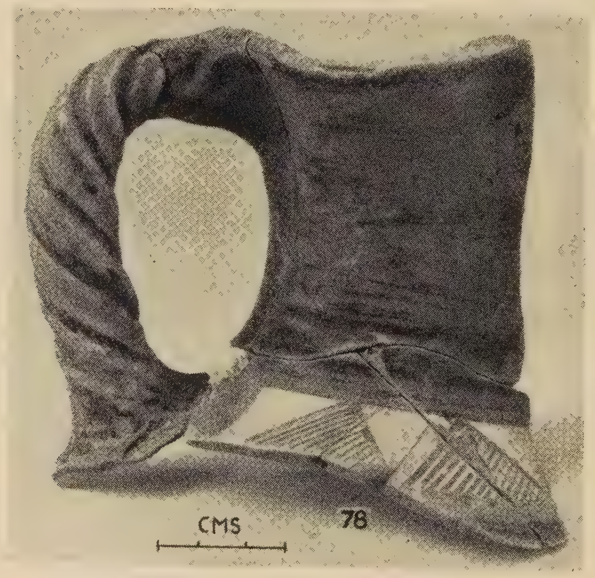

FIG. 28.—FRAGMENT OF JUG, CLASS I.

77 (Fig. 27). Two parallel grooves round base of neck. Black to brown on buff. *3 b.*

78 (Fig. 28). Faded brownish-red paint on buff; handle completely coated. *2.*

79 *a, b* (Pl. 6). Rope-handles from oinochoai (one perforated from *2*). *3 c.*

80 (Pl. 6). Part of shoulder. Concentric circles in upper register; purplish paint on pale buff. *3.*

81 (Pl. 6). Part of shoulder. Rippled; purplish-brown on pale buff. *N.C.*

82 (Pl. 6). Part of shoulder. Purplish paint on greenish ground. *N.C.*

83 (Pl. 6). Part of shoulder. Reddish on buff. *N.C.*

84 (Pl. 6). Part of shoulder. Hour-glass ornament in centre of semicircles; black to brown on warm buff. *N.C.*

85 (Pl. 6). Part of shoulder. Central dot in semicircle; black to brown on buff. *N.C.*

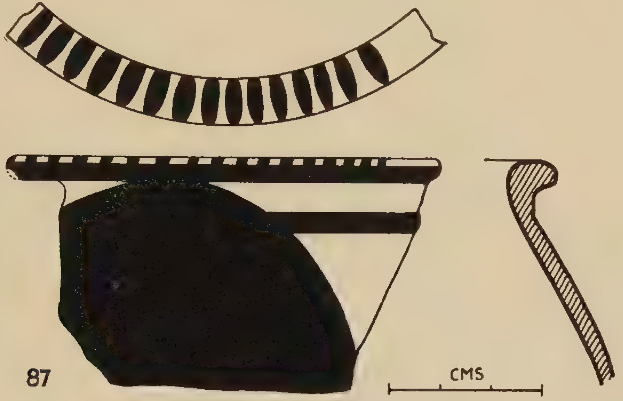

Fig. 29.—Fragment of Bowl, Class K.

J. *Bowl with pinched-out ribbon-handles set horizontally on the rim.*

86 (Pl. 6; Fig. 30). Greyish-white clay. The only example of this well-known LH III form.[1] *2.*

K. *Miscellaneous.*

87 (Fig. 29). Rim of deep bowl with narrow mouth. Black paint on whitish-grey ground; lip barred; inside coated. *2.*

88 (Pl. 6; Fig. 30). Leg of tripod (?); flat with three parallel grooves; on the inner face traces of attachment, by means of a bar, to the bowl.[2] Coated with black paint. *3 c.*

89 (Pl. 6). Loop-handle, made in two pieces. Coated with dark paint.

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[1] Cf. *B.S.A.* xxv, Pl. xi *k.*

[2] The legs on a vase from Lakkéthra (cf. Marinatos, Ἐφημ. 1932, 171, Pl. xi) are rather like, but have no bars. A vase like 95 seems more likely. For LH III tripod vases cf. *B.S.A.* xxv, Pl. viii *b*; Wace, *Chamber Tombs at Mycenae*, Pl. liv, 10, 11. There is in the National Museum at Athens a Mycenaean bronze tripod the legs of which have bars. I have not its number or provenance. A bronze prototype of this kind for the Ithaca clay tripod is likely.

The wall to which it is attached has no traces of paint on the inside, and a closed vessel must be inferred. There is little doubt that it is the handle of a pyxis with domed lid, like that found in a Protogeometric tomb at Erganos.[1] *3 c.*

90, 91, 93 (Pl. 6). Rope-handles. Coated with dark paint. Perhaps from the shoulders of hydriai.[2] *N.C.*

92 (Pl. 6). The wall to which this is attached is painted on the inside, and it seems likely that it belongs to a krater. *4.*

94 (Pl. 6). Perforated handle; probably from a cup of category D. *N.C.* A fair number of these perforated handles were found.

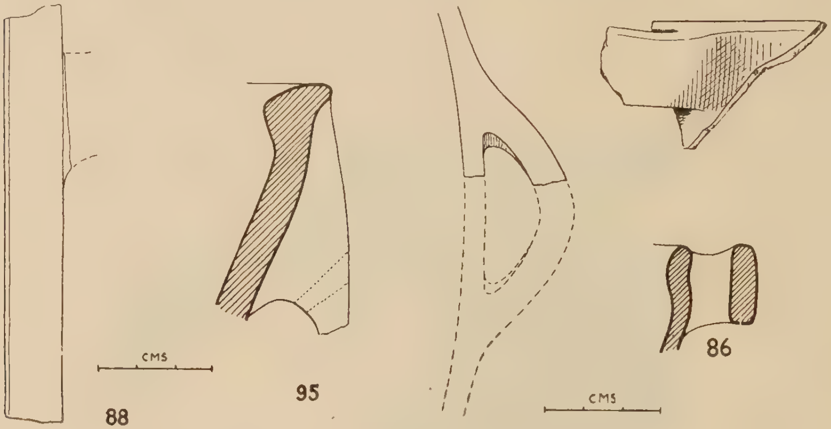


FIG. 30.—POTTERY OF CLASSES J AND K.

95 (Pl. 6; Fig. 30). Basin or tripod;[3] two perforations in the handle. Coated with brownish paint. *N.C.*

96 (Fig. 31). Store-jar. Black to brown on buff. *3.*

97–99 (Fig. 31). Parts of store-jars. Incised, stamped and plastic ornament. *2.*

100 (Fig. 31). Part of store-jar. Incised and plastic ornament. *N.C.*

L. *Special sherds.*

101 (Fig. 31). Well-polished brownish-buff slip; brown slightly lustrous paint; not coated inside. Perhaps imported LH III. *3 c.*

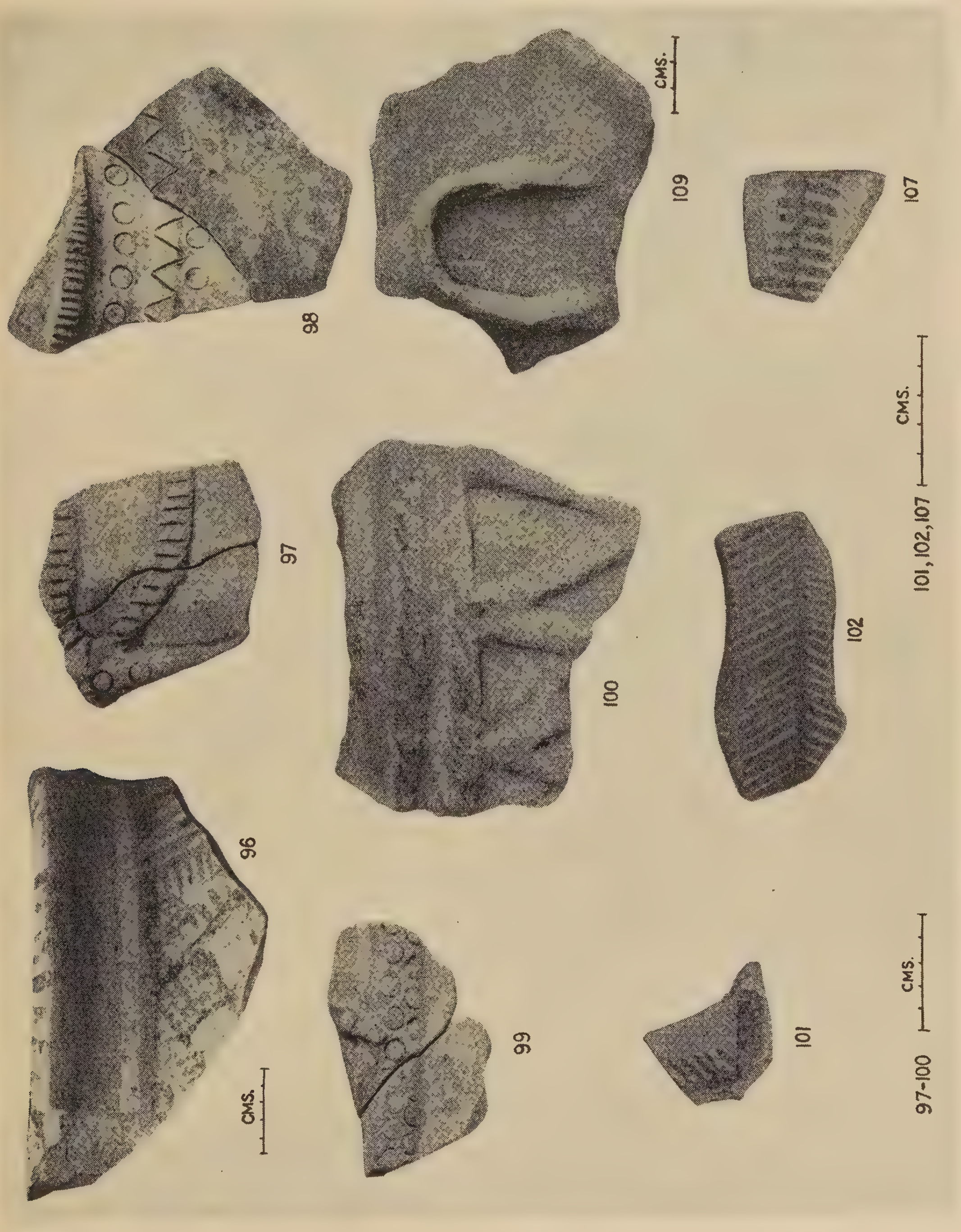
102 (Fig. 31). Part of large open vase. Faded reddish paint on whitish ground. The only example of this fish-bone ornament. *4.*

---

[1] Cf. *A.J.A.* v, Pl. vi, 4. Mycenaean in origin (cf. Furtwängler-Loeschke, *Myk. Vasen.* Pl. xvi, 104; *B.M. Vases* Vol. I, Pt. 1; A 952), but I do no know of any Mycenaean example with a two-piece handle: a rather similar but three-piece occurs on a basket-shaped vase from Ialysos (*Annuario* 1923–4, Fig. 65, 37); cf. also the straight-sided pithos (Geometric) from Fortezza, *B.S.A.* xxxi, 60 no. 10 and references there. The Corinthian Geometric form, of which some examples were found in the deposit of that period at Aetós, is, of course, descended from it. Cf. Johansen *Vases Sicyoniens* Pl. xi, 2, 3.

[2] Cf. Πρακτ. 1928, p. 113, Fig. 2 and p. 117, Fig. 8.

[3] Cf. p. 51, note to no. 88.


96
97
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CMS.
CMS.
97-100
CMS.
101,102,107
CMS.

Fig. 31.—Classes K, L, and Hand-made.

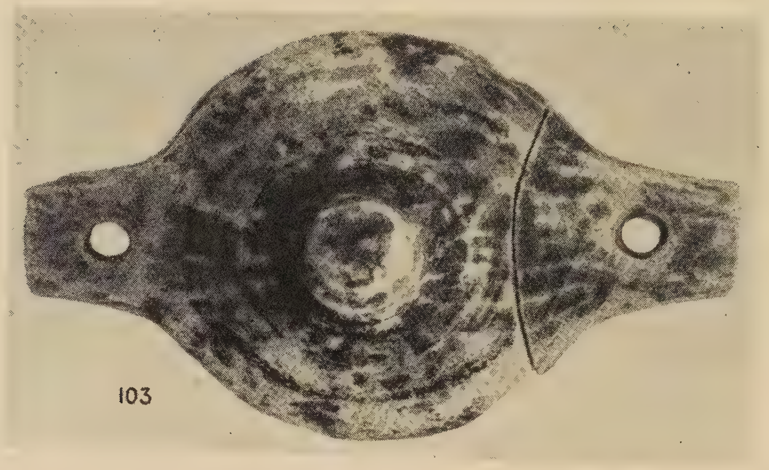

Fig. 32.—Lid, Class M.

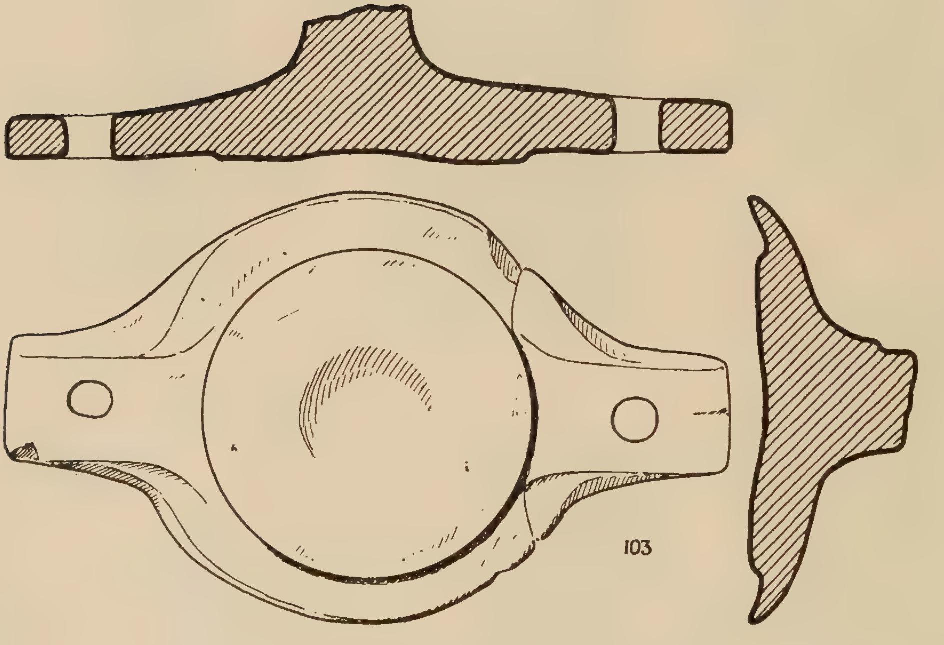

Fig. 33.—Lid, Class M.

M. *Lid.*

103 (Figs. 32, 33). Knob broken. Coated on the outside with dark streaky paint. *3 c.*

Hand-made.

104 (Fig. 34). Bowl. Rough brown surface. *3 c.*

105 (Fig. 35). Bowl; same form as last. Brick-red clay and surface; thick matt black paint. *3 a.*

106 (Fig. 36). Sauce-boat (?); nipple in front. Matt purplish paint on slightly polished grey slip. *4.*

107 (Fig. 31). Sherd with similar slip and ornament.[1]

108 (Fig. 37). Shallow dish; four plastic arched lugs. Reddish surface, inside buff with smoke-stains. Very heavy ware.[2] *3 c.*

109 (Fig. 31). Fragment of a similar dish. *3 c.*

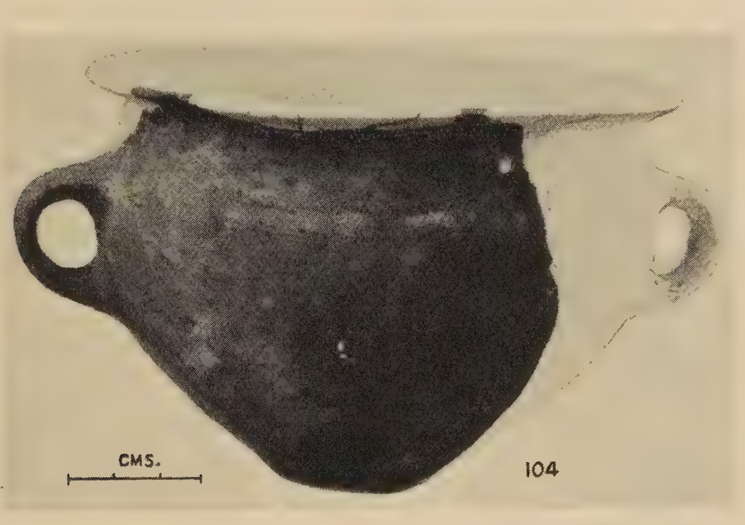

Fig. 34.—Hand-made Bowl.

Miniature vases.[3]

110 (Fig. 38). Cup; on stand, open at the front; four small holes at the back. *4.*

111 (Fig. 38). Cup; on low foot, with side lugs; two holes. *N.C.*

112 (Fig. 38). Similar cup; one side lug; four holes. *2.*

113 (Fig. 38). Cup. *2.*

114 (Fig. 38). Bowl with two (?) lugs. *N.C.*

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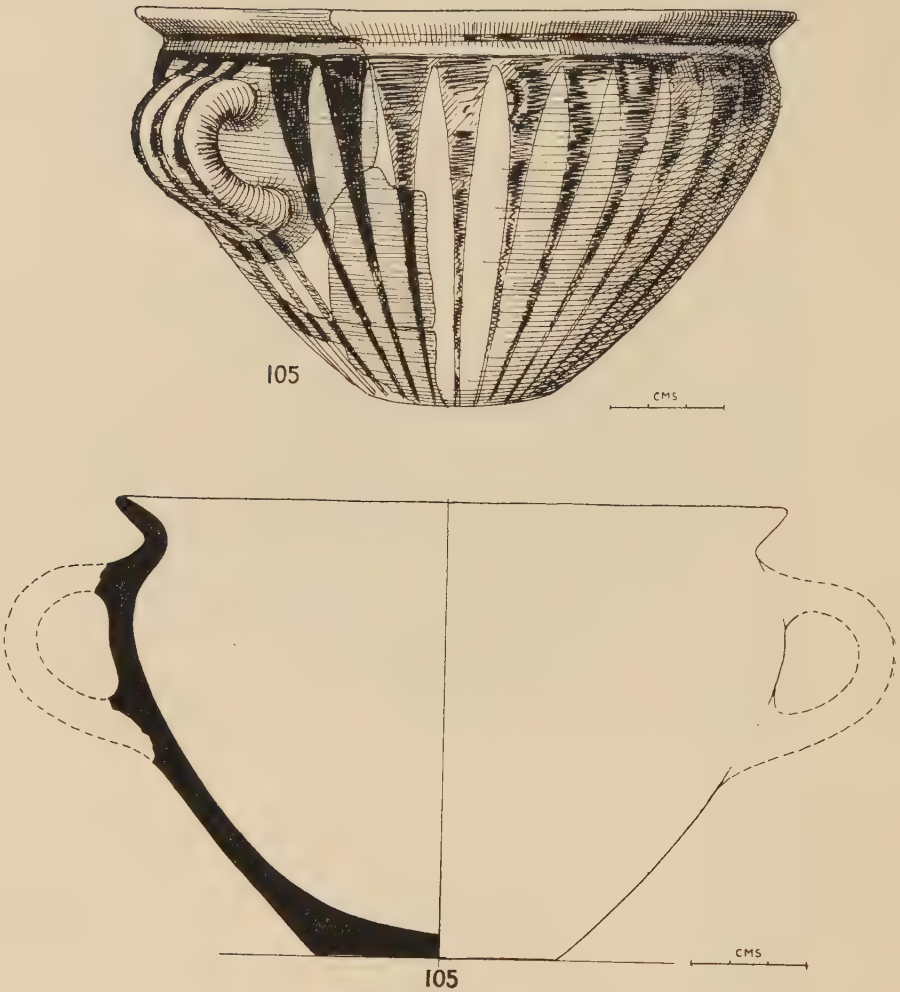
[1] A few similar sherds were found at Pólis.

[2] Fragments of these dishes were common.

[3] These cups are very crudely made, almost 'mud-pie' ware. They have a certain interest as they were found in large numbers and various forms among the Corinthian Geometric and Protocorinthian offerings.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CMS
105
CMS

Fig. 35.—Hand-made Bowl.

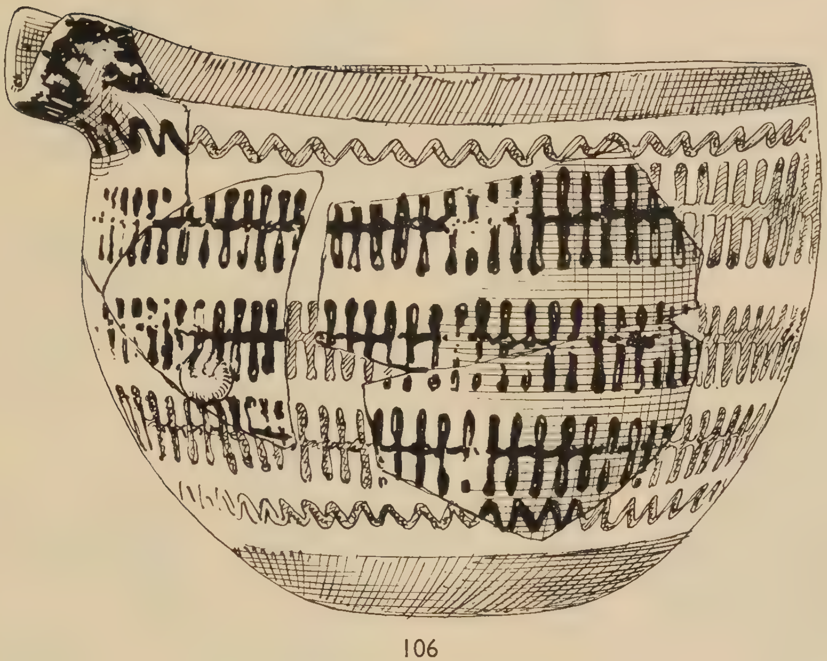


Fig. 36.—"Sauce-Boat" (?). Approximately Natural Size.

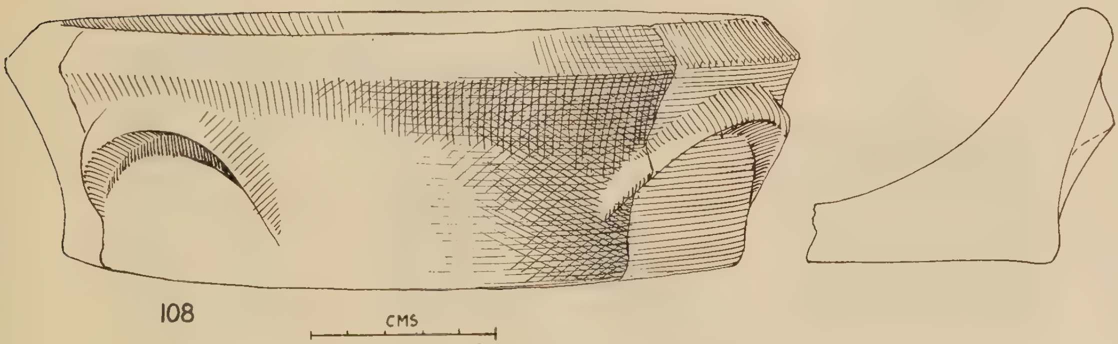
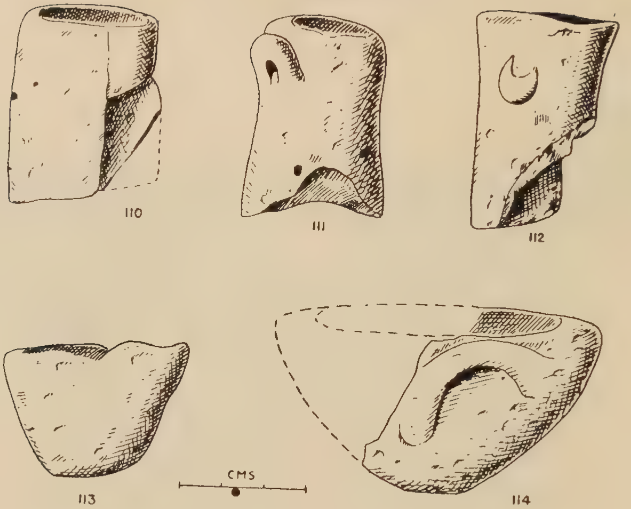


Fig. 37.—Hand-made Dish.


110
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114

Fig. 38.—Miniature Vases.

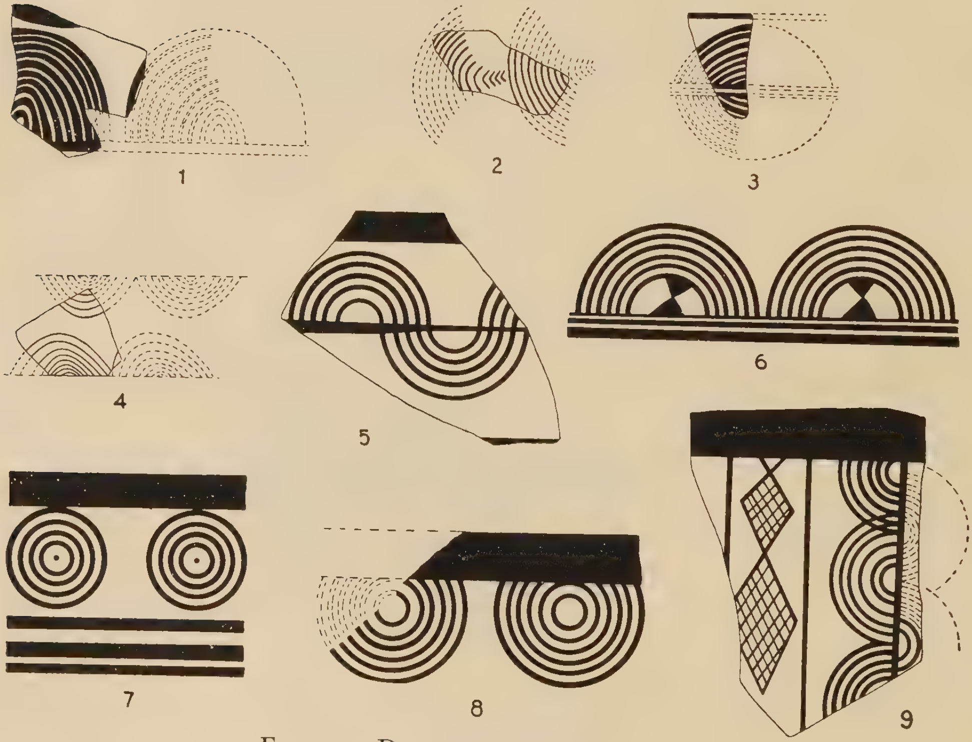

Fig. 39.—Diagram of Motives.

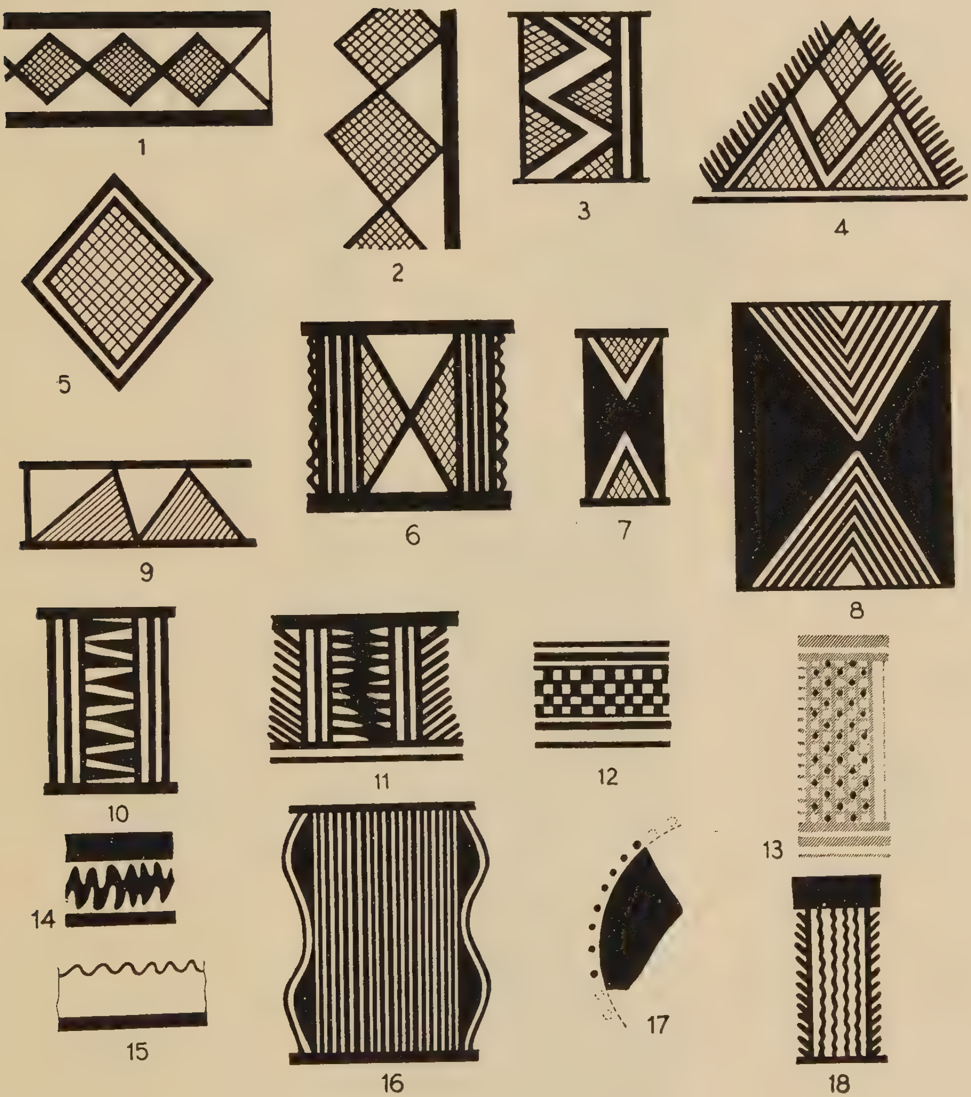
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FIG. 40.—DIAGRAM OF MOTIVES.

Miscellaneous Objects.

Clay.

115 *a*, *b* (Fig. 41). Buttons made of chipped painted potsherds, perforated. *3 a*, *3 c*.

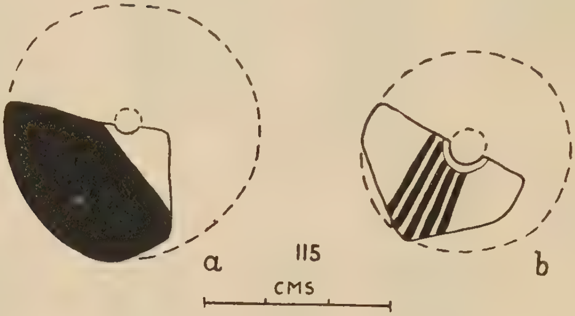
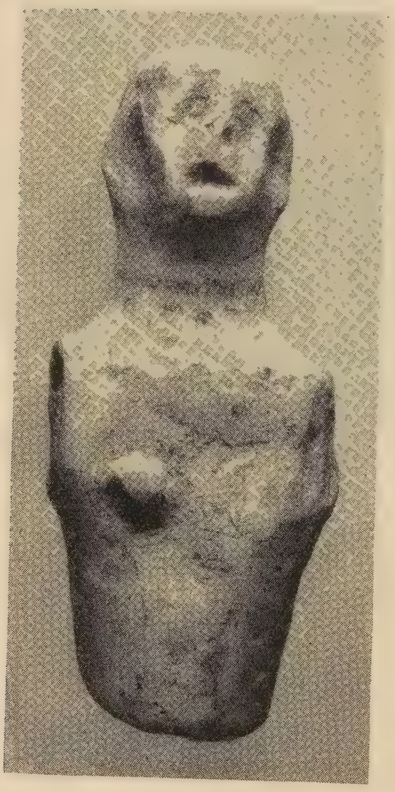


Fig. 41.—Clay Discs.



116

Fig. 42.—Terracotta Figurine.

116 (Figs. 42, 43). Figurine;[1] broken at waist; female, one breast missing. Crossed bands from breasts to shoulder. The other details are clear from the illustrations. Red lustrous paint on cream slip, both much perished. *3 c.*

Bronze.

117 (Fig. 44). Pin; broken.[2] *Near 2.*

Whitish substance.[3]

118 *a* (Fig. 45). Disc. ·6 cm. thick. (Found near cairn 1.)
118 *b* (Fig. 45). Disc. ·5 cm. thick. (Found in fill at back of wall 6.)

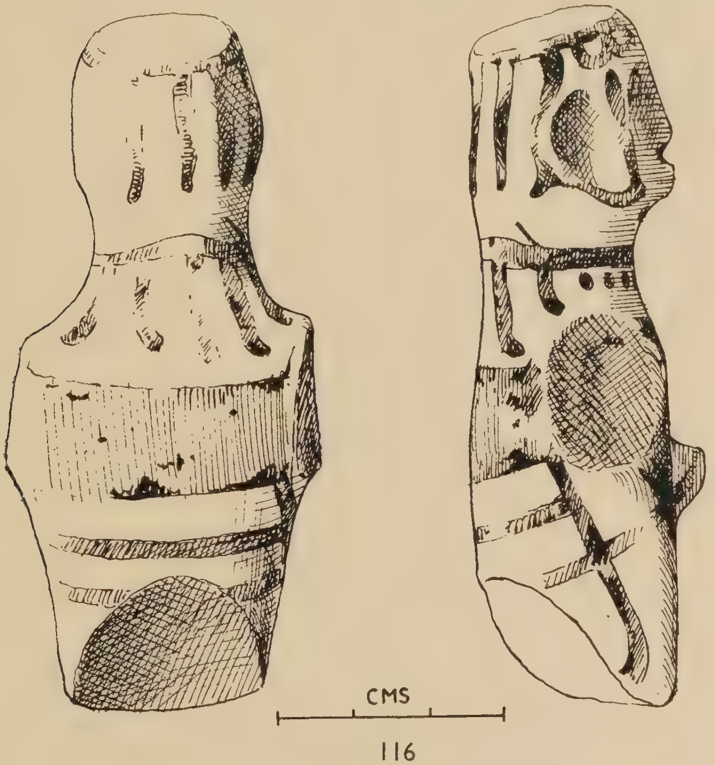


FIG. 43.—TERRACOTTA FIGURINE.

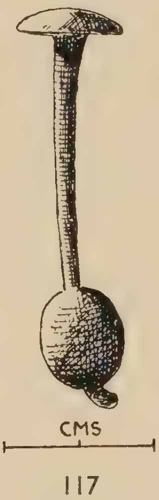


FIG. 44.—BRONZE PIN.

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[1] There is a family resemblance between this figurine, the head from Mycenae (cf. Bossert, *Altkreta*, Pl. 249), three figurines from the shrine at Asíne, found with 'Granary' Class vases (cf. *A.A.* 1927, p. 379), the head on the anthropomorphic vase also of 'Granary Class,' from Mycenae (cf. *B.S.A.* xxv, Pl. vii *c*), and the figurine from the Acropolis of Mycenae (cf. Wace, *Chamber Tombs at Mycenae*, p. 216, fig. 50). The lustrous paint and the cream slip suggest that ours is not of local manufacture.

[2] Cf. p. 28.

[3] I have been told on good authority that this substance is from the inside of the cuttle-fish. Though none of these objects were found in the cairns, they must belong to them, since all were found in immediate proximity to them, and none in the Corinthian Geometric or Protocorinthian deposits. Their purpose is unknown to me.

119 (Fig. 45). Disc. ·6 cm. thick. (Found in fill at back of wall 7.)

120 (Fig. 45). Disc. ·6 cm. thick. (Found in stones of wall immediately East of cairn 4.)

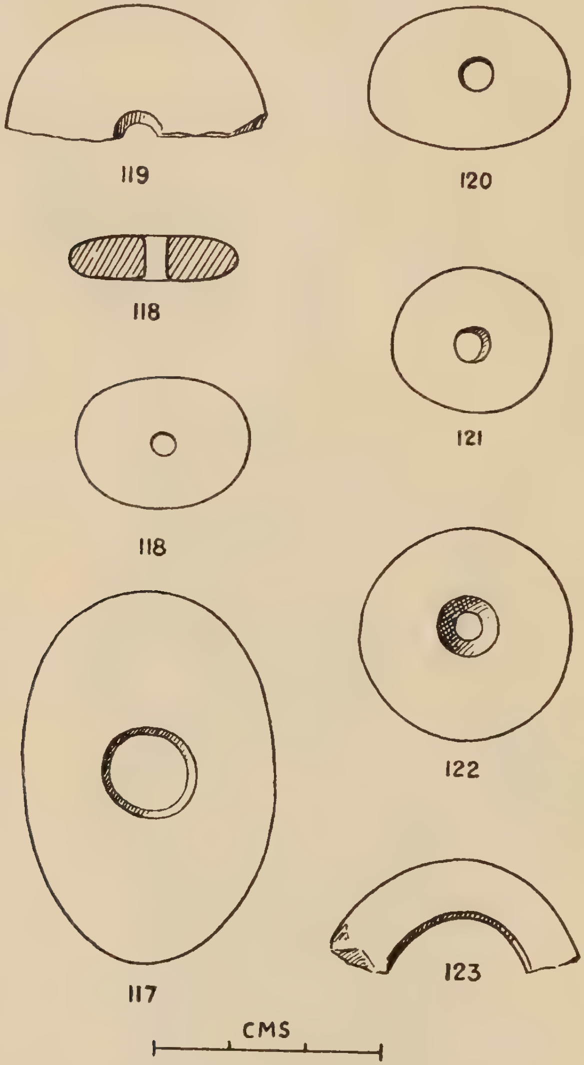

Fig. 45.—Objects of Whitish Substance.

121 (Fig. 45). Disc. ·5 cm. thick. (Found below pavement.[1])

122 (Fig. 45). Disc. Bored from both ends. 1·3 cm. thick. (Found in fill at back of wall 6.)

123 (Fig. 45). Ring. ·9 cm. thick. (Found in fill at back of wall 6.)

---

[1] Cf. p. 36.

III. CONCLUSION.

The wheel-made pottery forms a consistent but not uniform group; that is to say, the passage from a pure Mycenaean (LH III) phase to full Protogeometric can be observed within it. LH III elements are kylikes, stirrup-vases, loop-handled bowls in which the rim is only slightly everted (12), the bowl with ribbon-handles on the rim (91), the pilgrim-flask (74),[1] rope-handles,[2] and among ornaments, the freehand concentric loops.[3] Fine lustrous paint also is here a criterion of LH III ware. Protogeometric elements are the shallow cups with flat bases,[4] plastic rings on the kraters,[5] the high conical feet, the advanced rectilinear ornament and concentric circles or half-circles drawn with a multiple brush.

The fine group of vases from Lakkéthra in Cephallenia recently published by Marinátos,[6] well illustrate the kind of LH III ware which was being made in the Ionian islands in the latter half of the thirteenth and the beginning of the twelfth century B.C.[7] It is noteworthy that here some of the kylikes have swollen stems[8] and that ringed stems[9] are just developing from them; that rectilinear motives like triangles, diamonds, etc. are still being drawn with slightly curved outlines,[10] and that the 'Close' Style is in process of development from the 'Panel' Style.[11] Approximately contemporary is the vase group from Dikáta with its almost 'Close' Style krater,[12] while the vases from Pólis in Ithaca, shortly to be published,[13] seem to belong to the end of the same, with some extension into the succeeding (*i.e.* Aetós) period.[14]

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[1] Cf. Furtwängler-Loeschke, *Myk. Vasen*, Pl. xiv 92, Pl. xx 149 (two-handled); for Protogeometric examples cf. Hall, *Vrókastro*, Fig. 89 and *A.J.A.* v, Pls. 1, 2 (Kavoúsi).

[2] They are, of course, more characteristic of Protogeometric. For references see *B.S.A.* xxxi, 47, note 1.

[3] Cf. Marinátos, Ἐφημ. 1932, Pl. 4, 5; Pl. 5, 13. Kyparissés Δελτ. 1919, 102–3, Figs. 17, 18; Kourouniótes Ἐφημ. 1914, 103, Figs. 7, 8, 106 Fig. 9; *B.S.A.* xxv, Pl. x *g*; Wace, *Chamber Tombs at Mycenae*, Pl. ix, 8, 10; to take only a few examples.

[4] For the Mycenaean form cf. *B.S.A.* xxv, Pl. xi *f*, *g*, *i*, *j*.

[5] These had just begun to appear on Mycenaean kraters (cf. Furtwängler-Loeschke, *Myk. Vasen*, Pl. xliv, 75) but are characteristic of Protogeometric; cf. *B.S.A.* xxxi, Pl. xi, 147–149. So too the double loop-handles.

[6] Cf. Marinátos Ἐφημ. 1932, pp. 1–47.

[7] Cf. *ibid.* pp. 45–47 and this report p. 65.

[8] Cf. *ibid.* Pl. vi 29, 43.

[9] Cf. *ibid.* Pl. vi, 44; Pl. xii, 225.

[10] Cf. *ibid.* Pl. iv, 5 *a*; Pl. vi, 27; Pl. x, 145, 147, 149, etc.

[11] Cf. *ibid.* Pl. v, 13 and p. 64 below.

[12] Cf. Kyparissés, *loc. cit.* p. 102 f. Figs. 17, 18.

[13] By Miss S. Benton in a later volume of the *Annual.*

[14] Shown by the frequency of kylikes with ringed stems and a few sherds of the advanced rectilinear ornament as at Aetós. Ringed stems are found in Cypriote 'sub-Mycenaean' (*i.e.* twelfth century) and there is one from Olympia (*Olympia*, Textband IV, p. 109, No. 1285). Swollen stems occur at Asíne in a 'Granary' Style context (cf. *A.A.*, 1927, p. 379) and at Vrókastro (Hall, *Vrókastro*, Fig. 89).

Those vases from Aetós which are LH III illustrate a further stage in the development of provincial Mycenaean.[1] There is a high proportion of ringed stems among the kylix fragments; the ' Close ' Style has not matured but, instead, we have simple arrangements of concentric loops; [2] spiraliform ornaments have disappeared; the loop-handled bowls are slimmer and have well-defined necks; their feet are higher and more conical.

Since ' Philistine ' pottery is derived partly from the ' Close ' Style and its appearance in Palestine cannot be later than 1180, it follows that the ' Close ' Style must have been in existence by the beginning of the twelfth century. The ' Close ' Style is itself derived from the earlier ' Panel ' Style, but since in Cephallenia the transition from the one to the other has not been quite effected [3] it is to be inferred that the latest elements there must be dated somewhere about 1200.[4] Most of the LH III vases at Aetós must therefore be later than 1200, and only the earliest of them (*e.g.* the imported LH III and perhaps some of the kylikes) can be placed before that date. The greater number probably belong to the second half of the century.

The Protogeometric at Aetós follows directly upon the Mycenaean and develops out of it.[5] The tendencies apparent in the latest Mycenaean are merely carried a step further and the passage from one to the other occurs without perceptible break, except that which is caused by the introduction of a multiple brush and the consequent mechanisation of ornament. Apart from that, there is, as far as I can see, scarcely anything in form or ornament which is not anticipated or implied, if not at Aetós itself, somewhere in Mycenaean pottery.

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[1] Many of the Kavoúsi vases illustrate the same stage, *e.g. A.J.A.* v, Pl. 1 (bottom row) pilgrim flask; Pl. ii (top row) pilgrim flask; (middle row) two-handled bowls with the same slim form as ours, and in one case the same ornament; (bottom row) a bowl with pinched-out handles; Pl. 2, 4, the form of the hydria is extraordinarily like ours (Fig. 26, no. 75).

[2] And the loops have lost their fringes or ' cogs,' for which see Marinátos, *loc. cit.* Pl. iv, 5; Pl. vi, 41; Pl. x, 148; Wace, *Chamber Tombs at Mycenae*, Pl. xi, 8, 10. There are some good examples in the Patras Museum from tombs in Achaia.

[3] Cf. the kraters, Marinátos Εφημ. 1912, Pl. v, 13; Kyparissés Δελτ. 1919, p. 102, figs. 17, 18.

[4] When writing the above, I overlooked the fact that a very similar conclusion had already been reached by Skeat (*The Dorians in Archaeology*, pp. 29, 30), and I was not, consciously at any rate, influenced by it, in forming my own opinion.

[5] I formerly thought that a ' sub-Mycenaean ' phase should be interposed between the latest Mycenaean and Protogeometric (cf. *B.S.A.* xxxi, p. 52). I now think this is not so. The Salamis group is still Mycenaean, not sub-Mycenaean. The term ' Sub-Mycenaean ' is, however, appropriate to the mixed twelfth-century style of Cyprus, and to ' Philistine ' pottery in Palestine. Cf. a paper which will appear in the *Quarterly of Dept. of Antiquities in Palestine* vol. iv pts. 3, 4.

It is not possible to fix precisely the lower chronological limit of the group. It is unlikely that the period covered by it lasted till 850 B.C., the approximate date of the earliest Corinthian Geometric. It is true that among the Geometric vases are certain elements (some peculiar to Ithaca) which look as if they were derived from the local Protogeometric, such as the use of concentric loops,[1] and ornaments like 47–49 on fragments of similar form. These may, however, be explained by supposing that the Corinthians found Protogeometric sherds lying round the cairns and borrowed such ornaments as took their fancy for their own pots—evidence, incidentally, that the Corinthian vases were made locally. But such forms as the trefoil-lipped jugs with rope-handles, the pyxides with two-piece handles must have passed into the Geometric style before its transmission to Ithaca. In Ithaca itself the transitional stage is not represented.

Actually the Protogeometric gives the impression of not having got far beyond the early stage of its development from Mycenaean. The mechanical dexterity and assurance of the Marmáriane potters, for example, has not been achieved, and, though we can be sure that the Ithacan Protogeometric belongs to the eleventh century, whether it lasted into the tenth or later it is impossible to say.

The hand-made vases have no relation to the wheel-made and must belong to a different tradition. The bowls (104, 105) are of the same form as bowls found at Pelicáta in the remains of the Early Helladic settlement,[2] which, however, there is reason to suppose continued to exist throughout the Middle into the Late Helladic Age. The ‘ sauce-boat ’ (106) too is in the Early Helladic tradition and it seems therefore best to regard the hand-made vases as belated products of the pre-Mycenaean civilisation of the island. Matt-painted sherds similar to 106, 107 were found at Pólis.

As far as the Homeric associations of Ithaca are concerned, if our conclusions, based purely on archæological grounds, are correct, the ashes covered by the cairns at Aetós may include those of men who were alive during and perhaps took part in the war against Troy.

W. A. HEURTLEY.

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[1] Ornament exactly like 43 is found on the Corinthian Geometric, as well as the pendant concentric loops. Cf. also 87 (Fig. 29).

[2] To be published shortly. Cf. also Kunze, *Orchomenos* III, Taf. XVI, 2.

LACONIAN TERRACOTTAS OF THE DEDALIC STYLE

(Plates 7–11.)

Laconian figurines have been found on four sites at or in the neighbourhood of Sparta: by the British excavations at the Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia,[1] at the Menelaion,[2] and on the Acropolis at the Sanctuary of Athena of the Brazen House: [3] and by the Greek and, subsequently, the German excavations at the Amyklaion.[4] So far as I know only three archaic Laconian figurines have been found on sites which are not Laconian. Of these, two are from Tegea, a site which was open to Laconian, Argive and Corinthian influences; these two objects will be mentioned below. The third is the late archaic terracotta head from Olympia, which Langlotz classes as Sicyonian,[5] but which is much more akin to late archaic Laconian heads. One would expect that seventh-century figurines of Laconian style would have been found at Tarentum,[6] but as almost no archaic terracottas from that site have been published it is impossible to say whether such exist or no: the few I have seen in Berlin do not present any striking similarity with those from Laconia, although one of them is akin to the Cretan heads of about 625.[7] In importing terracottas from other fabrics Laconia seems to have been equally unenterprising: there are fragments of two East Greek alabastra of the well-known middle sixth-century type from the Orthia site[8] and a third from the Acropolis,[9] though these must be counted as vases; among figurines proper an Argive figurine of the 'Ornate' class from the Menelaion,[10] and a possibly Cretan head from the Acropolis,[11] form the sum of importations, at least among those in the Sparta Museum.

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[1] Farrell, *B.S.A.* xiv, 65 ff.; Dawkins, *Artemis Orthia* 145 ff.

[2] Thompson, *B.S.A.* xv, 116 ff.

[3] Mrs. Woodward, *B.S.A.* xxix, 75 ff.

[4] 'Εφημ. 1892 13, 14, with Pl. iv, 4, 5; *A.M.* lii, 39 ff.

[5] *Olympia* iii, Pl. vii, 2, 3. *Frühgr. Bildhauerschulen*, Pl. 22 *c*.

[6] Cf. the early sixth-century Laconian bronze protome. *Festschrift Loeb* pp. 91 ff.

[7] Cf. Evans in *J.H.S.* 1886, p. 25, figs. 2, 3. Of Cretan style are also the plaque from Tarentum (Langlotz *Antike Plastik*, 113 ff.) and the Santangelo fragment now in Naples (*R.M.* 1891, 254 ff.).

[8] *B.S.A.* xiv, 64; Kunze, *Gnomon* Jan. 1933, 10; Maximova *Vases Plastiques* 128[4].

[9] *B.S.A.* xxix, 103.

[10] *B.S.A.* xv, 125, fig. 5, no. 82; cf. *B.S.A.* xxxii, 33.

[11] The head published by Mrs. Woodward, *B.S.A.* xxix, 85, fig. 5, no. 35 is, I think, probably Cretan. As Mrs. Woodward notes, the treatment of the eye is irregular in

The find of terracottas from the Amyklaion does not include any figurines of the Dedalic style, and the two fine Pre-Dedalic heads found there by Tsountas have been studied elsewhere.[1] The collection of seventh-century figurines from the Orthia site is, however, exceptionally rich, as one would expect from the other finds of that period; if we supplement it with those from the two other sites dug by the British School, we find a remarkably complete series illustrating the rise, development and decline of the seventh-century Dedalic style in Laconia, which it is the principal object of this paper to trace. I hope shortly to publish a comparative study of the parallel development of the Dedalic style in Crete, Sparta, Corinth and Rhodes; but for two reasons the Laconian series deserves a separate article: first, because its extreme richness of material, far surpassing the other collections, cannot be adequately surveyed in a study of general principles: second, because the Laconian Dedalic style is of a strongly individual and provincial character which makes the Laconian heads stand somewhat apart from the others.

Clay and technique have been adequately described by Dawkins[2] in his publication of the Orthia figurines; Dawkins does not, however, distinguish two separate methods of decoration which seem to have been used without discrimination during the seventh century, as we find them both employed on contemporary figurines: the first consists in painting the face with a thick cream slip and the hair and eyes with black lustrous paint: the second in leaving the face unpainted but with a good surface finish, and coating the hair with a light red wash; examples of these two methods will be noticed as we proceed; they are never confused—we never find red hair with a cream face or black hair with an undecorated face.

The well-modelled terracotta figurine has, like other artifacts, a very long history at Sparta. The small head from the Menelaion (profile view in *B.S.A.* xv, 122, fig. 4, no. 54) is clearly very primitive, although carefully modelled and incised. Its globular skull and sharp thin nose recall the bronze figures of the New York Centauromachy and the Samos Lion Hunt:[3] it is probably datable well back into the ninth century.

The two Geometric heads from the Amyklaion are ably dealt with by

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Laconian figurines before the sixth century, nor are ' a few large flecks of mica ' a common ingredient of Laconian clay; in fact, the head is of a type common and of long duration in Crete, the distinguishing features being a straight thick mouth, a broad but not protruding nose, and plastically ringed eyes. Cf. the early head *B.S.A.* vi, 106, fig. 37, no. 4, and the sphinx from Gonies (*Annuario* xii, 67), about 30–40 years later.

[1] Cf. *A.M.* lv, 155 f.

[2] *Artemis Orthia* 145–6.

[3] *A.M.* lv, Beilage xxxviii; *A.A.* 1930, 126.

Kunze.[1] There is one more Laconian head of pure Geometric style which has for some reason evaded publication; it is an interesting plastic vase from the Orthia site[2] (Pl. 7 no. 1): the orifice runs up through the neck and the vase was apparently suspended upside down. The head, though stylistically far inferior to the Amyklaion head, is modelled with the vigour and individualism of Geometric plastic art. The face is flat and disc-like, but this defect is softened by the enclosing beard, carefully dotted: while the well-conceived skull, the short, plastic locks of hair, and the accurately related features command our respect. The head anticipates one characteristic of the Laconian Dedalic of the following century, namely the curving bridge of the nose; this awkward peculiarity, though it tends to disappear in the Late Dedalic period, crops up again even in the sixth century.[3]

Turning to the Subgeometric period we have the head from the Acropolis published by Mrs. Woodward (Pl. 7 no. 2).[4] It is, as Kunze notes,[5] Pre-Dedalic, but is made in a mould (one of the earliest known moulded terracottas in Greece) and has the flattish face which the early use of that technique involves. Mrs. Woodward's comment that it cannot be dated as early as the eighth century will require consideration; her comparison of it with the Late Dedalic janiform head has been correctly rejected by Kunze.[6]

Now, if we compare these last two heads with those of the class which immediately follows them (Pl. 7 nos. 3–5), we get a very good idea of the contrast between the Geometric and the seventh-century or Dedalic traditions. The Geometric face is broad, ill-defined, and spreading: the features are pronounced, the nose high and projecting; moreover, both heads shew an individuality and an almost naturalistic treatment which is utterly different from the Dedalic; certain conventional features they do indeed shew, but they are not modelled in obedience to any preconceived and binding principle of construction, as are their successors. With these latter all is sharp, mathematical, and formularistic: the outline of the shallow frontal face is tense, economical, and triangular;[1] the apex is the chin and the base the straight horizontal line of the fringe: within this area the features are disposed as though to exhibit some symmetrical pattern in the modeller's mind rather than to copy the natural or individual.

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[1] I cannot, however, agree with Kunze that one of these heads is Mycenaean and the other Geometric. The 'Mycenaean' head is certainly an inferior work, and the mouth is very feeble; but it is difficult to suppose that two heads which are as close to each other in the rendering of eyes, chin, jaw, and neck (cf. *A.M.* lv, Beilage xliii), can be divided by an interval of three centuries and are products of two different civilisations (even Kunze finds the correspondence 'täuschend'). As the nose of the 'Mycenaean' is lost we cannot guess with certainty its original appearance, and the eyes set too low down below the brows illustrate a characteristic of numerous clay Geometric heads. To my mind there is no doubt that the heads are contemporary (if no closer tie unites them) and that both belong to the late Geometric period.

[2] At any rate, it is now in a case with other finds from that site.

[3] Cf. Langlotz, *Frühgriechische Bildhauerschulen* Pl. 46.

[4] *B.S.A.* xxix, 86 f. and Pl. I *a*, *b*.

[5] *Kretische Bronzereliefs* 234, note 130.

[6] *Gnomon*, Jan. 1933, 9; see below, pp. 75, 79.

The little group of which two members are illustrated (Pl. 7 nos. 3–4), though they are still rough and boorish in appearance, are for this reason important, that they are the first in the Laconian series which shew the new spirit of the seventh century. How fundamentally unchanging, despite improvements in detail, was the Dedalic formula which governs their construction may be seen by a glance at their successors of the Middle period, in the zenith of the style (Pl. 9 nos. 2–5). The six extant examples of this 'Proto-Dedalic' group (as we may call it) all come from the same mould; all were found at the Orthia site, and are unpublished.[2] They represent the usual standing goddess type; body is moulded as well as head, and the curious proportions of the figurine will be noticed with reference to the following class. We should note in the profile view the almost entirely flat 'two-dimensional' treatment of the face, which is an invariable characteristic of the Dedalic head.[3] In the same early group, though representing a rather later stage, is a large protome from Orthia (Pl. 7 no. 5), embodying an effort to produce a longer face with a less angular chin: it is no doubt the protome mentioned by Farrell *B.S.A.* xiv, 60, C, I, 3. The technique is that of the red-wash hair. A parallel is seen in the rough bronze protome,[4] which shews the same long face wide at the cheek bones, and tapering chin. Even closer is the clay protome from Crete now in New York, published by Mrs. Dohan.[5]

We next arrive at a group of figurines which may be said to represent an Early Dedalic phase: the Dedalic style is now a reality with its long U- or hairpin-shaped face, flat low forehead, and large eyes. The heads belonging to this period are placed in chronological order on the plate (Pl. 8), and we observe how in heads which occur towards the close of the period the long shape is tending to widen out slightly above into the broader face of the Middle group. It is with these somewhat more developed heads (Pl. 8 nos. 4, 5) that we must compare a singular limestone statuette now in the museum at Mistra (Pl. 8 no. 6); as this object has never been published—or so far as I know referred to—before, it is worth while to give a brief description of it. The monk who acts as guardian of the museum was unable to inform me how such a piece reached a museum otherwise devoted to Byzantine relics: he said that another foreign visitor had told him that it belonged to the seventh century, though quite naturally he supposed that the seventh century A.D. was meant. The object is made of Spartan limestone, and in its present truncated condition measures about 45 cms. high and about 20 cms. broad: its curiosity lies in its shape. A cylindrical and columnar block of stone is hollowed out at the top to form a shallow cup, whose rim is pierced to form a runnel at one side. On the periphery of the column is carved in high relief an exceedingly archaic Kore: below the waist she is broken off, and the face is very badly destroyed, yet enough remains to shew the outline of the face, part of the modelling of the cheeks, the position of the mouth, and the hair. Below the neck, the torso is, comparatively, well preserved as far as the waist, and the vigorous but very archaic modelling of the breasts is plain. Above (see profile view), the lip or rim of the columnar stone is extended giving a polos-like effect over the head, which is inclined from and projects in front of the body. We are not much concerned here with the purpose of the object as a whole—it naturally at first glance brings to mind the Laconian tripod with three caryatids, which is presupposed by the Laconian Kore at Olympia[1]: but a moment's thought shews that our figure is complete in itself and cannot have formed part of a larger composition. It is perhaps reasonable to regard it as a columnar altar with a small receptacle cut in the top to receive libations if, as seems probable, the receptacle is contemporary with the carving: in this case, our Kore would be the goddess, perhaps in some chthonic capacity, though it might be hard to find a parallel to this type of archaic altar, if such it is.[2]

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[1] Cf. Rumpf in Gercke-Norden, *Einleitung in die Altertumswissenschaft* II, 3, pp. 6, 7.

[2] There may be more, but there are four at Sparta and two at Cambridge. Pl. 7 no. 3 and Pl. 10 no. 1 are both in the Fitzwilliam Museum and are published here by kind permission of Miss W. Lamb.

[3] Cf. Payne, *Necrocorinthia* 233.

[4] *B.S.A.* xxviii, Pl. x, O 29.

[5] *Metropolitan Museum Studies* iii, 217, fig. 16.

More important, however, is the style. We may anticipate the chronological study which follows, by saying that according to the comparison here made with the Early Dedalic group of terracottas, the piece must be dated not later than 660 B.C. and is in consequence one of the oldest examples of Greek stone sculpture in existence. The evidence for this rests partly on the style of the head, which we have brought into relation with the terracottas on Pl. 8, and partly on the proportions of the body. It is noticeable that the proportions of the stone statuette and those of the two female figurines here given for comparison, roughly correspond: and very odd proportions they are. Head with neck, bust, and skirt form three almost equal divisions, the first and last of these being in consequence far too large and far too small respectively. This immense predominance of the head in relation to the body had been a feature of all Greek modelling from the Subgeometric period onwards, and is in contrast to the accurate sense of proportion shewn by the few good statuettes we possess of the pure Geometric style.[1] Now, in the next (Middle) period which we come to in a moment, although the head remains too large the principle of construction of the body is quite changed; the bust is very much shortened and the part below the waist has become very long indeed—sometimes absurdly so; and this gives the whole figure, though still incorrectly proportioned, a much more balanced appearance.[2] It is obvious that the Mistra statuette belongs to the more archaic canon; the depth of the bust, which is relatively long and pear-shaped (cf. particularly Pl. 8 no. 5), instead of being very short and sharply triangular as in the following group, is sufficient to prove the point; it is interesting to note that beside the Laconian Proto- and Early Dedalic figurines, several other statuettes from different Dorian sites, statuettes which can be attributed to this period solely on the style of the head, exhibit the same archaic proportions: compare the clay relief Kouros from Cameirus [3] and the bronze illustrated by de Ridder, *Cat. des Bronzes trouvés sur l'Acropole d'Athènes* no. 775. The elongated and affected proportions of the following group have also numerous representatives outside Laconia.

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[1] *Olympia* iii, Pl. v, 4, 5; cf. *J.H.S.* 1896, 275 f.

[2] Dr. A. B. Cook has suggested to me that the object may illustrate an intermediary phase between the time when the God was his own (aniconic) altar and the time when he was a separate anthropomorphic entity with an altar set up to him; cf. on Ζεὺς Βωμός his *Zeus* i, 519 f.

The projection of the head forward reminds us of another early archaic trait, that of modelling the head in high relief and leaving the body either painted in outline below or else in very low relief.[4]

The figurines of the Early Dedalic period here illustrated all come from the Orthia site. Two more heads come intermediately between these and the Middle group. The large plastic head on Pl. 9 no. 1 looks very crude and primitive, but this is largely due to the fact that its chin, owing to a technical fault, has slipped round under its right cheek. Apart from this, the features, especially the mouth, suggest that it is an early specimen of the following Middle Dedalic group, datable about five years before those on Pl. 9 nos. 2–4; true, it belongs to a group of plastic heads which Dawkins places before 675; [5] but this is evidence drawn from pottery, and the date is certainly too early for the head figured at *Artemis Orthia* Pl. xxxviii no. 3, which is of the same group according to the stratification.

To the same intermediate period belongs the remarkable figure of a bisexual deity from the Menelaion,[1] which is bearded and has male genitals, but also female breasts held in the traditional fashion of the naked Oriental goddess, and a painted design obviously meant to represent female dress: [2] I hope to discuss its significance elsewhere in connection with a curiously similar figurine from Perachora; for the present we note the similarity of the face to those of the next class and the incipient smile so characteristic of the latter.

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[1] Cf. *A.M.* lv, 158 f.

[2] V. Müller (*Frühe Plastik* 75) correctly observes this contrast of proportions, but does not emphasise the extraordinary 'elongation' of the body in the later group; a good example of the latter is at *Artemis Orthia*, Pl. xxix, no. 1.

[3] *B.M. Terracottas* B. 159.

[4] *E.g.* the Afrati situla (*L.A.A.A.* xii, pl. 5*c*), the Argive Heraeum plaque (*Argive Heraeum*, ii. pl. xlix, no. 1), the Athenian Agora plaque (*Hesperia*, ii. 606, fig. 73), the Boeotian relief pithos (*B.C.H.* xxii. 440), etc.—all before, or about, 650.

[5] *Artemis Orthia* 153.

The great Middle period which shews the style at its zenith is particularly well represented on all three sites at Sparta. It subdivides itself most naturally into three phases, according to which we shall briefly consider it.

(i) The first phase differs from the second principally in the outline of the face. That of the first is oval, the chin is smoothly curved, and, apart from the fact that the face is broader at the temples, and has a greater depth from front to back, the modifications from the Early Dedalic period are slight. This phase of the Middle Dedalic style shews Laconian Dedalic at its most individual, and it is worth while to notice its predominant characteristics. To begin with, the eyes are not modelled, nor even ringed about with a plastic rim, but merely cut oval blobs which rely entirely on painted decoration: this is a purely Laconian characteristic [3] (the Proto-Dedalic protome is exceptional) and continues down to the last quarter of the century; the nose is broad, long, and heavy; hanging well down over the mouth (a rare feature in the Dedalic style) and curved in the bridge (cf. Pl. 9 no. 3*b*): the mouth is heavy and definitely curved in a smile, a characteristic almost confined to Laconia and even there seen only in this Middle group in its three phases. The hair is most usually *Perlenlocken*; occasionally the *Etagenperücke* or layer-hair is found, but is not the rule as it is in Crete.

The two first heads (Pl. 9 nos. 2–3) both belong to standing female figurines from the Orthia site, which shew the elongated proportions above referred to. The next head (Pl. 9 no. 4) is a protome (a shape extremely popular both in clay and bronze at Sparta) from the Menelaion: this has the red-wash technique. The last two heads of the phase come both from the Acropolis: the first preserves much of its fine decoration, and we can see that the painted eye was by no means ineffective; the characteristic flat-topped head is also very noticeable. The second (Pl. 9 no. 6) is even more interesting, being the face from a plastic head-vase. This remarkable piece is certainly Laconian, and as we shall see is not much later than 650.[4]

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[1] *B.S.A.* xv, 120 fig. 3, no. 34.

[2] Cf. the ' incised ' dress of the Olympia bronze (*Olympia* iv, Pl. xv, no. 266 and *J.d.I.* 1906, 180 f).

[3] Cf. *B.S.A.* xxix, 90.

[4] Mrs. Woodward *B.S.A.* xxix, pp. 101–2 suggests ' late seventh or early sixth ' centuries; but the pure Dedalic style of the head forbids so late a date.

In the seventh century head-vases are almost unknown in Mainland Greece,[1] and it is significant that of the only two known to Maximova, one[2] is also Laconian, the other being the Boeotian Silen's head, which is probably a good deal later.[3] Recalling the Geometric vase dealt with above we can conclude that the head-vase was in use at Sparta at a time when it was almost unknown save in Crete. The black glaze-paint, curl-fringe, and painted eyes of the Acropolis vase recall the technique of late seventh-century Ionian head-vases, particularly of Brit. Mus. A. 450,[4] but the simple tubular orifice of the Laconian[5] differs both from the spreading Ionic lip and from the bored orifice of the Corinthian. The face is strikingly plastic; although restricted in depth by the Dedalic convention, the front of the face, the cheeks and chin are beautifully modelled; yet there is no doubt that we are right in placing it in this group, for the heavily curved mouth and oval chin are unmistakable, and the modelling of the more cheaply made Menelaion protome is not vastly inferior. The piece is the finest Laconian head of the Middle period extant.

(ii) The second phase of the Middle period is distinguished by a much squarer facial outline (Pl. 10 nos. 1, 3, 4, 6); the face is equally long, but the jaw is angular and the chin vigorous and protruding. The head thus produced is remarkably similar to that of the Auxerre statuette (Pl. 10 no. 2), and the rendering of the mouth in both is identical. Such similarities have led to a supposition on the part of A. M. Woodward[6] that the Auxerre statuette might be of Laconian fabric; this is, however, inadmissible, as the statuette exhibits certain other characteristics which are peculiar to Crete. But that she is contemporary with the Laconian group under discussion, and that Crete and Sparta hung very close together at this time, there can be no question. Perhaps the nearest to the Cretan statue is Pl. 10 no. 1, which is now in the Fitzwilliam Museum. The specimens figured all come from the Orthia site. It is observable that in no. 3 the proportions of the figure are more normal, and that a reaction has set in against the affected shortening of the bust seen in the previous phase.

To the Laconian Dedalic of this period must be related the one surviving head on the curious 'Peleus and Atalante' relief plaque from Tegea[7] (Pl. 10 no. 5); the head of Atalante is a trifle worn but the 'blob' eyes and upward-curving mouth clearly indicate the Laconian style. It is interesting to note that Studniczka describes her costume as a *lakonisches Maedchenkleid*.

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[1] Cf. Maximova *Les Vases Plastiques* 149.

[2] *Artemis Orthia* 160, no. 5 and Pl. xliii, no. 3; certainly not Corinthian, as Maximova suggests.

[3] Maximova *op. cit.*, no. 175.

[4] *Ibid.* no. 112, where the description is wrongly applied to no. 114.

[5] This is no doubt the mouth which should be restored in *Artemis Orthia*, Pl. xliii, no. 3; not the Ionic type, as Maximova *op. cit.* 149.

[6] *B.S.A.* xxvi, 271.

[7] *J.d.I.* 1928, 190; Jacobsthal *Die Melischen Reliefs* 91.

(iii) The third Middle phase is distinguished by a much shorter though not narrower face. It is the group to which the Protocorinthian metope from Mycenae belongs, and a good Laconian representative is the Acropolis protome on Pl. 10 no. 7. The small protome from the Menelaion Pl. 10 no. 8 illustrates the tendency towards the elimination of provincial features first observable in this class, for the mouth has resigned its rich curve and is well on the way to becoming straight. Here we must also include two plastic heads from a large Laconian vase which Droop calls Subgeometric (Fig. 1);[1] they stand close to the last-named protome. And finally the large plaque from the Menelaion, which originally represented three goddesses standing side by side (Pl. 11 no. 1);[2] we see how at length body and head are almost in correct proportion; not merely has the head shrunk in size but the body has become broader and more solid.

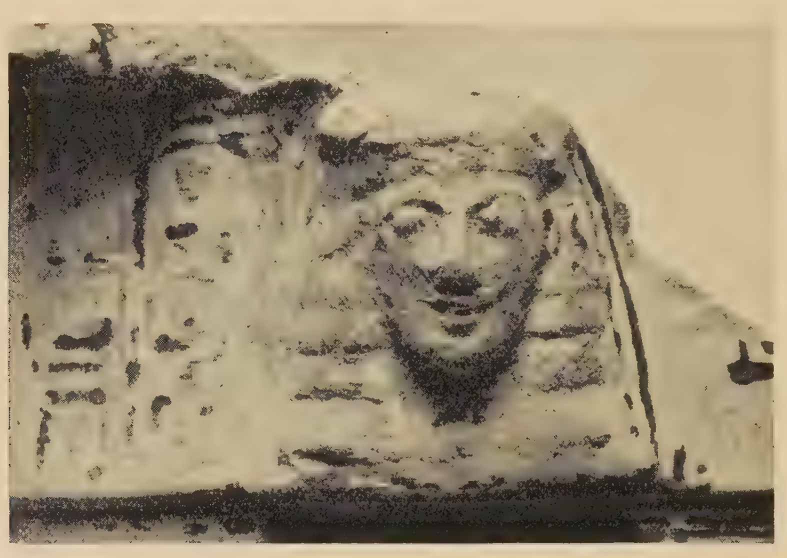

Fig. 1.—Plastic Head from Orthia Site. (Scale 1 : 1.)

The final or Late Dedalic phase is best illustrated by the fine janiform protome from the Orthia site (Pl. 11 no. 2); it is rightly regarded by Kunze as one of the finest Laconian terracottas,[3] and we can only echo his astonishment that there should be no mention of it in the final publication of the site. It obviously greatly resembles the plastic heads from Droop's 'Subgeometric' vase, but is, I think, certainly a little later. We see in it very clearly the elimination of those features which are peculiarly Laconian: the eyes are no longer rough-cut discs, but outlined with plastic rings; the mouth is now quite straight and comparatively thin-lipped; and, what is perhaps most significant of all, the nose is straight in profile, has no widespread nostrils, and a very greatly reduced projection. It seems probable that the influence which produced these modifications was Protocorinthian. For the rest, the wide square chin gives the face an outline familiar to us from other late Dedalic works such as the Eleutherna statue.

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[1] *Artemis Orthia* 68, fig. 41 *c* (!). Cf. Kunze *Gnomon* 1933, 10.

[2] *B.S.A.* xv, 120, no. 32.

[3] *Gnomon* 1933, 10. The division between Middle Dedalic III and Late Dedalic may seem artificial in connection with Sparta, which is (as an exception) rather poorly represented at the very end of the style; in contrast with Crete, whose numerous representatives allow the final stages to be traced with precision.

After this period, which, as will be seen, cannot be dated lower than *c.* 620, ends the Dedalic style properly so called. The restrictions are exceeded and the formula is relaxed. The Laconian version of the style which we have been studying offers something of a contrast between careful workmanship and up-to-date technique on the one hand, and the clumsy and boorish style of the heads on the other. Laconian clay is soft and easy to model; painted decoration was carefully and effectively applied: the flat mould—no doubt imported from Crete—was in use uncommonly early, and Sparta was moulding whole figures at a time when many schools were content to set a moulded head on a mere unmodelled block. But for all that the best Laconian Dedalic fails to please, from a lack of delicacy in the modelling of details and a general coarseness of feature. The short thin nose, the straight sharp mouth, these are features characteristic of the finest Dedalic heads, and Laconian faces provide their very antitheses. Yet their artists had a good eye for decoration in bright colours, among which were a good clear purple,[1] orange, excellent black glaze, a thick cream slip, and a thin light red wash. It is disappointing that the damp soil has robbed so many figurines of their decoration, which would doubtless do much to mitigate their coarse and provincial aspect.

It is a point of great interest to see how the various schools develop their Post-Dedalic styles from the common formula; confining ourselves to Sparta in this respect, the immediately Post-Dedalic phase is represented by two beautiful little heads from the Acropolis (Pl. 11 no. 3);[2] the contrast between these and the pure Dedalic figurines is clear: the face has no longer the graceful triangular shape in one frontal plane, but has a smaller, rounder form with a very much greater degree of depth; the eyes are treated in the later manner, and the forehead is not confined by the earlier flat horizontal line passing immediately above the eyes, but by a faintly arching fringe which leaves a reasonable depth of forehead beneath. Ears, again, reappear for the first time since the Subgeometric head. It would be true to say that these two protomes are the Laconian counterpart of the Argive Cleobis and Biton, and of their terracotta contemporaries from the Heraeum.[1] But they have closer parallels yet; first, in the fine bronze head in the Louvre said to come from Cyprus;[2] and second, in the bronze mould for the fabric of protomes found at Olympia;[3] I do not wish to affirm that both these objects are Laconian—they are merely contemporary examples illustrating the same stage of development: we may note, however, with respect to the Olympia mould, that protomes both in bronze and terracotta are much commoner in Sparta than elsewhere, a fact which, taken in conjunction with other Laconian bronzes of the seventh century from Olympia, suggests the possibility of its Laconian origin; Miss Lamb notes the significance of the shape, but thinks that the mould is not Spartan.[4]

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[1] The Protocorinthian coroplast did not apparently use purple to decorate figurines, which is curious, as both vases and plastic vases of the Protocorinthian period have purple paint; on figurines I have noticed only red and black varnish, and a dark red wash for cheaper figurines; the finely-finished surface does not require white slip. Not until the last quarter of the seventh century do purple and (occasionally) yellow make their appearance. There is little evidence for the colours used in Crete and Rhodes.

[2] *B.S.A.* xxix, 93, no. 46.

Post-Dedalic again is the large and finely modelled plastic head from the Orthia site[5] (Pl. 11 no. 4); although not well preserved it is obviously a stage beyond the small heads just mentioned and must fall at the very end of the seventh century.

A contemporary but much less carefully executed series is that of the standing Orthia with the rampant lion;[6] Dawkins rightly says that all the specimens appear to come from the same mould, although, as Kunze remarks, this being the case, it is a little unreasonable to give them chronological range of two centuries. Farrell (*B.S.A.* xiv, 64) rightly says ‘none are later than the end of the seventh century’; nor indeed is any earlier.

The following type, which starts either at the very end of the seventh century or more probably at the beginning of the sixth, is mentioned here because to it belongs the second of our three Laconian terracottas found outside Laconia; it also comes from Tegea (Fig. 2*b*).[7] A considerable advance is observable in the high arch of the fringe, recalling the style initiated in the Corinthian fabric.[8] Parallels to this Tegean head are the Orthia figurine illustrated with it, and also the mounted Orthia (*Artemis Orthia*, Pl. xxxiii 7): the finest clay head of this type comes from the

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[1] Cf. *B.S.A.* xxxii, Pl. 12.

[2] Studniczka, *Antike Plastik* 248. It is worth while to note that the Spartan bronze kore in New York (Langlotz *Frühgriechische Bildhauerschulen*, Pl. 46) is also said to come from Cyprus.

[3] *Olympia* iv, Pl. vii, 8.

[4] *B.S.A.* xxviii, 193.

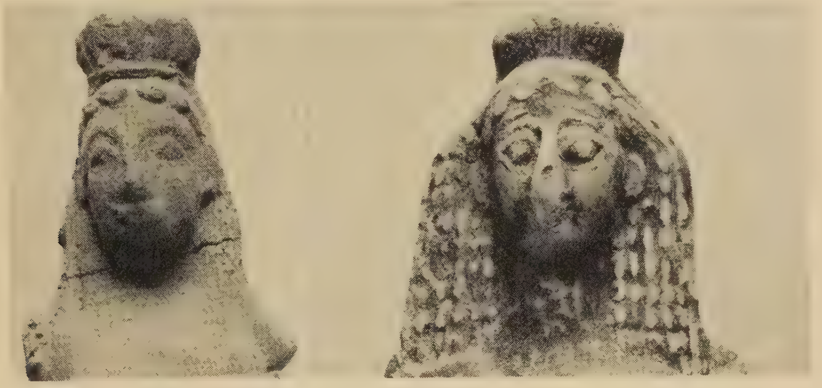
[5] *Artemis Orthia*, Pl. xliii, 1.

[6] *Ibid.* Pl. xxxii, 1–3.

[7] Now at Athens; not Laconian clay.

[8] Payne, *Necrocorinthia* 234.

Acropolis;[1] it is gaily painted but unfortunately badly destroyed. Finally, a magnificent Laconian bronze statuette, very similar in style to our group, has been published recently among finds from Samos.[2]



a *b*

FIG. 2.—LACONIAN FIGURINES: *a*, ORTHIA SITE; *b*, TEGEA. (SCALE 1 : 1.)

CHRONOLOGY

Farrell and Dawkins have based their chronology wholly on what has now been shewn to be the insufficient and often misleading evidence of the pottery with which the various groups of terracottas were found. Kunze has dealt with the pitfalls of this method;[3] even if the groups do fall within the limits assigned to them by the stratigraphical evidence, these limits are much too wide to be of any value in a specialised study of early archaic art.

This method having failed us there are two other sources which might afford assistance: the first is ceramic evidence from Laconian vases which were decorated with plastic heads; but the chronology of Laconian vases itself is as yet not quite certainly made out, and again, the limits given are too wide for our purpose: it is not helpful to be told that the head on Fig. 1, which Kunze quite rightly assigns to the second half of the seventh century, adorns a vase in Droop's ' Subgeometric ' class. In certain cases the parallel technique of decoration in vases and figurines may afford a basis for chronological conclusions, and a point of this kind is well made by Mrs. Woodward[4] in discussing the Pre-Dedalic head on Pl. 7

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[1] *B.S.A.* xxix, 97, no. 47. Note the characteristic ' feather ' polos on each.

[2] *Altsamische Standbilder*, ii. pp. 32, 33. Buschor thinks that the statuette is of Samian fabric.

[3] *Gnomon*, loc. cit.

[4] *B.S.A.* xxix, 88.

no. 2, but generally speaking we may class this method too as of little value.

We are left with the comparative method, which bases itself on stylistic evidence, and this requires a brief explanation. The Dedalic style of the seventh century is distinctively Dorian, and we have very adequate evidence, mostly from terracottas, for tracing the successive stages of its rise and fall almost without a lacuna in four great Dorian centres, Cameirus, Corinth, Sparta, and Crete: at Argos (strangely) and at Athens (more naturally) we find only a few objects of very late or Post-Dedalic style. Now, the four great schools mentioned develop each a local variant of the Dedalic style, which has numerous characteristics of purely local origin; but it would be easy to shew that all the fabrics pass through stages of development which are essentially analogous to each other; we distinguished above in connection with Laconian terracottas groups which we called for convenience Proto-, Early, Middle, and Late Dedalic, and the other three schools shew precisely the same development on lines which, though differing in detail, are yet fundamentally parallel. This being so I maintain that we are justified in concluding that this parallel development went on contemporaneously, or very nearly so, in each centre: it would be gratuitous to suppose, let us say, that Sparta was making Middle Dedalic, while Cameirus produced Early and Corinth Late Dedalic heads. If this conclusion is warranted, it would obviously assist greatly in determining our chronology, for certain Dedalic heads in terracotta from other schools can for one reason or another be dated with some certainty; and we are thus able to link up with them those products of other schools which, as far as we can observe, exhibit the same stage of the style's development. It is hardly necessary to observe that full use of this method cannot be made until a comparative study has shewn in detail the relationship between the schools during the seventh century, and it is impossible here to publish sufficient figurines of other fabrics for comparison as one could wish to do; but where possible we shall try to help ourselves out by the comparative method, using the assumptions made above.

The head on Pl. 7 no. 2, Mrs. Woodward maintains, is decorated in Subgeometric style, but at some date after the beginning of Laconian I (*i.e.* after 700 B.C.), for it has certain Orientalising elements in the rendering of the hair and dress. With this seventh-century dating Kunze seems to agree.[1] The question is of great importance, as it involves the dating of the first emergence of the Dedalic style in Greek plastic art. Mrs. Woodward and Kunze are perhaps right in dating the head after 700, a dating which receives support from the circumstance that the head is made in a mould; yet it is definitely Pre-Dedalic, and (if 700 is the correct date for the beginning of Laconian I) it cannot be dated much later than about 690.[1] This allows a date in the latter half of the first quarter of the seventh century for the Proto-Dedalic group which follows; there are one or two non-Laconian heads which represent an even more primitive stage than the Orthia figurines, and these latter with the protomes of clay and bronze may best be put into the decade 680–670.

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[1] *Kretische Bronzereliefs, loc. cit.*

The Early Dedalic group will cover most of the second quarter; the long hairpin face of Pl. 10 no. 1 recalls a parallel type in Protocorinthian [2] which is certainly a good deal before 650, probably fifteen or twenty years before. Pl. 10 no. 4 is later, and this head and the Mistra statuette may be set at about 660, together with the small Orthia figurine cited by Müller.[3] The head with the contorted chin suggests a date about 655.

The plastic head on the Middle Protocorinthian aryballos in the Louvre is dated by Johansen and Payne to 650 on the evidence of the style of the vase painting.[4] Now, the Laconian group which approximates most closely to this head is clearly that of the first Middle Dedalic phase: we have the same long face and oval chin not yet shewing a trace of the squarer jaw characteristic of the Auxerre type. The Orthia and Menelaion heads should date about 655–650, and the Acropolis protome and head-vase, which have a foreshadowing of angularity, will come about 650–645. The Auxerre group will fill the next decade (645–635) and the third Middle and Late phases will occupy the next fifteen years; the plastic heads from the ‘ Subgeometric ’ vase must be put about 630, while the janus protome of the Late period (consequently between 630–620) is, as Kunze pointed out, some half a century later than the head with which Mrs. Woodward compares it.[5]

The remaining heads with which we have dealt, with the exception of that from Tegea and its contemporaries, all fall into the last twenty years of the century. The Dedalic style at Sparta, then, and thus *ex hypothesi* in other Dorian schools, occupies between sixty and seventy years in the middle of the seventh century. Its zenith is reached in the years immediately following 650, and by the last quarter of the century the strict formula which is its governing principle is becoming relaxed. We found that Laconian Dedalic was at its most characteristic about the years 655–645; whether this be true of other Dedalic fabrics also is the task of a fuller study to determine.

R. J. H. Jenkins.

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[1] The dating of the head has been most recently essayed by Miss Dorothy Burr (*Hesperia* ii, 607); she will make it contemporary with the Athenian Agora relief plaque, about the middle of the seventh century. This is much too late; the question is rather whether we should not place it earlier, in the eighth century. The problem is one for the student of Laconian ceramics.

[2] From Perachora; unpublished.

[3] *Frühe Plastik*, fig. 321.

[4] This object has already become a most important fixed point in the settling of seventh-century chronology: cf. Richter in *Metrop. Mus. Stud.* v, 42.

[5] *B.S.A.* xxix, 88.

JOURNEYS IN CRETE, 1934.

(Plates 12–13)

The following is an account of some expeditions made from Knossos by members of the British School. It is hoped in time to make a complete register of all ancient sites on the island (more than six hundred are already known). How much is still to be done is shewn by the fact that over thirty-five new sites were found during the course of the journeys here described.

The names of the sites here given must be taken with reserve. Pronunciation varies so much from one district to another that accuracy is exceedingly difficult. Moreover, the Turkish names are hard to reproduce, since the Turkish č is written and pronounced *ts* by the educated, and written *ki*, while pronounced as English *ch* by the peasants. The *n* is liable to be dropped in Crete: thus Alexadros for Alexandros.

I. Pediada (Map, Fig. 1).

This trip was undertaken on April 2nd at the request of Sir Arthur Evans, who wished for further details of the tomb at Kalergi visited by him twelve years ago. The Curator and Miss Money-Coutts were accompanied by Emm. Akoumianos, the foreman of Knossos.

Saba.—Spratt (*Travels and Researches in Crete* I, 92) suggests that this may be the ancient Thenai mentioned by Callimachus (I, 43) as near Knossos on the Omphalian plain. Both he and Taramelli (*Mon. Ant.* ix, 369) saw Hellenic walls of the fourth and third centuries. These, however, seem now to have been destroyed. A few blocks are built into the church of Hagios Silas. A quarter of a mile to the East, however, to the left of the road, are the remains of a large building of 'Cyclopean' masonry. A good many sherds lie scattered round about, some L.M. I (mainly pithos fragments), a few late Greek or Roman.

Kastelli Pediada.—Three sites are to be found near this town. 1. The cave called 'Sto Christo lies twenty minutes to the North on the side of a rocky ridge. It is filled with earth up to a good height, but L.M. I sherds are to be found. Later it was re-used as a church and a cross has been carved on the walls. 2. At Petrades, the name of a small knoll ten minutes East of the town, there is a big deposit of M.M. III sherds, but no walls are visible. 3. 'Sta Koutsounaria, twenty-five minutes to the East of Kastelli, lies a little way up the path which ascends to Psychro and Lasithi.

There are a number of rough walls visible. L.M. I and archaic sherds are abundant, while from a detailed description received on the spot it would seem as if a larnax burial had been found here by the peasants, containing an L.M. Ib–L.M. II octopus vase.

Kalergi.—The Monastery of Kalergi lies an hour's walk North of Kastelli Pediada. To the left of the path, just before the Monastery is reached, is the small tomb discovered by Evans (to be published in *P. of M.* IV). It is a tomb over 2·50 m. square with a dromos running out of the North-East corner (Pl. 12*a*). It is lined with rough slabs which at a height of just over a metre begin to overhang so that the roof is a circular corbelled vault. M.M. III pottery was picked up both here and round about two walls of rough stones just to the South. In a field on the opposite side of the path are the walls of a considerable M.M. III settlement. Above the Monastery, by the side of the path which leads over to Potamies, are distinct traces of a circular structure which seems to be one of the round tombs which are so common in the Messara. It would be particularly interesting should it turn out to be so, for it lies on the shortest route from the Messara to Krasi, where a lonely specimen of the type exists (Δελτ. 12, 102 ff.). The summit of Prophetes Elias is a quarter of an hour above this. Here there is a small fortress which looks Hellenic, though no sherds are to be found.

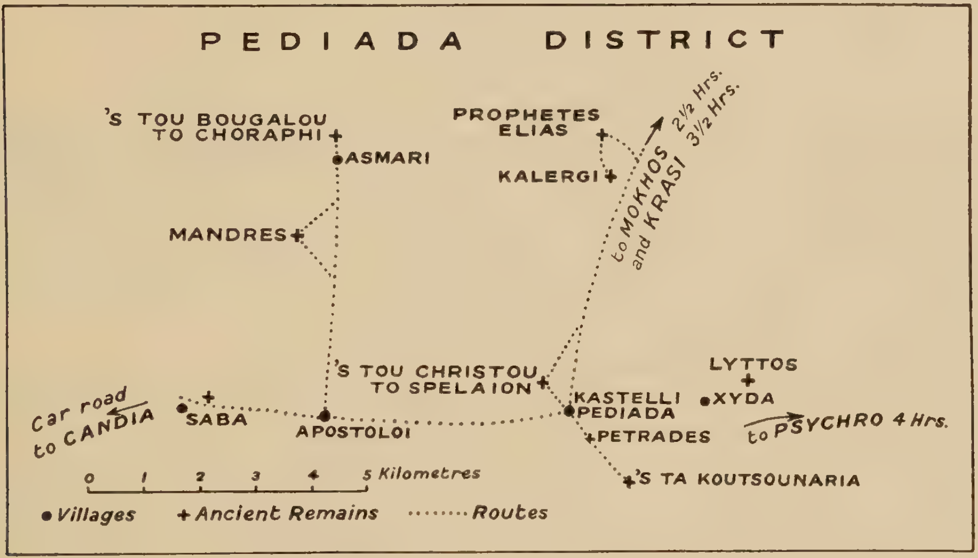
PEDIADA DISTRICT
'S TOU BOUGALOU TO CHORAPHI
ASMARI
PROPHETES ELIAS
KALERGI
MANDRES
to MOKHOS and KRASI
2½ Hrs.
3½ Hrs.
'S TOU CHRISTOU TO SPELAION
LYTTOS
KASTELLI PEDIADA
XYDA
Car road to CANDIA
SABA
APOSTOLOI
PETRADES
to PSYCHRO 4 Hrs.
'S TA KOUTSOUNARIA
0 1 2 3 4 5 Kilometres
● Villages
+ Ancient Remains
.... Routes

Fig. 1.—Sketch-map of Pediada District.

Asmari.—The village of Asmari lies about three-quarters of an hour

North of the village of Apostoloi on the main road between Candia and Kastelli. Spratt (I, 92 and II, Plate 1, no. 2) bought a late funeral inscription here, set up by Kerdon and Eirene for their daughter Agathemeris. The site lies ten minutes to the North of the village and seems to be called 'Stou Bougalou to Choraphi. It covers a considerable area, and though the corn was rather high for detailed examination we found a number of Hellenic sherds as well as good cut blocks and a big stone trough. About a quarter of an hour South of the village there are ancient walls at a place called Mandres, West of the road. There is a cutting in the rock which may conceivably, when excavated, prove to be the top of a cave. Manolaki (Emm. Akoumianos) says he found sherds from L.M. I pithoi here.

II. Central Crete (Map, Fig. 2).

This expedition occupied seven days from April 6th–12th. The Curator was accompanied by Miss Eccles, Miss Money-Coutts and Mr. R. S. Lavers, who unfortunately was taken ill and had to return to Knossos from Ligourtino. The route lay along the East side of Juktas, descended to the Messara and ended near Gortyna. The success of the trip was largely due to the presence of Emm. Akoumianos, whose nose for antiquities is unrivalled. The most important result was the discovery of four more circular tombs of the type excavated by Xanthoudides.

Sylamos and Karidaki.—The site of Sylamos, mentioned by Evans (*P. of M.* II, 1, 66) lies about half an hour South of Knossos. It is situated a little way up Juktas to the right of the path. Solid foundation blocks are still to be seen with M.M. III and L.M. sherds. Karidaki, where Minoan walling is visible below a small church on the East bank of the Kairatos ravine, is some twenty minutes further on. Evans (*loc. cit.*) found M.M. III and L.M. I sherds here and it is evident that both stations are in the nature of guard-houses protecting both the main road to Archanes and the ' Pilgrims' Way ' up Juktas.

Archanes.—The remains here lie below the modern town, in which considerable stretches of Minoan foundations and the orthostats of façades are to be made out under the present houses. The excavation of the large L.M. Ia well-house is described in *P. of M.* II, i, 64 ff. It is below the floor of an outhouse. The site called *Trullos* from which came the inscribed ladle and M.M. III pottery published by Xanthoudides ('Εφημ. 1908, 108 ff.) is at the top of the village, East of the main road. There is also an Early Greek settlement here, for archaic bronzes are reported to have been found by the peasants.

Vathypetro.—About three-quarters of an hour from Archanes, below the direct mule track to the Messara, but above and to the North-West of the village of Vathypetro, are remains of walls, and a number of M.M. III

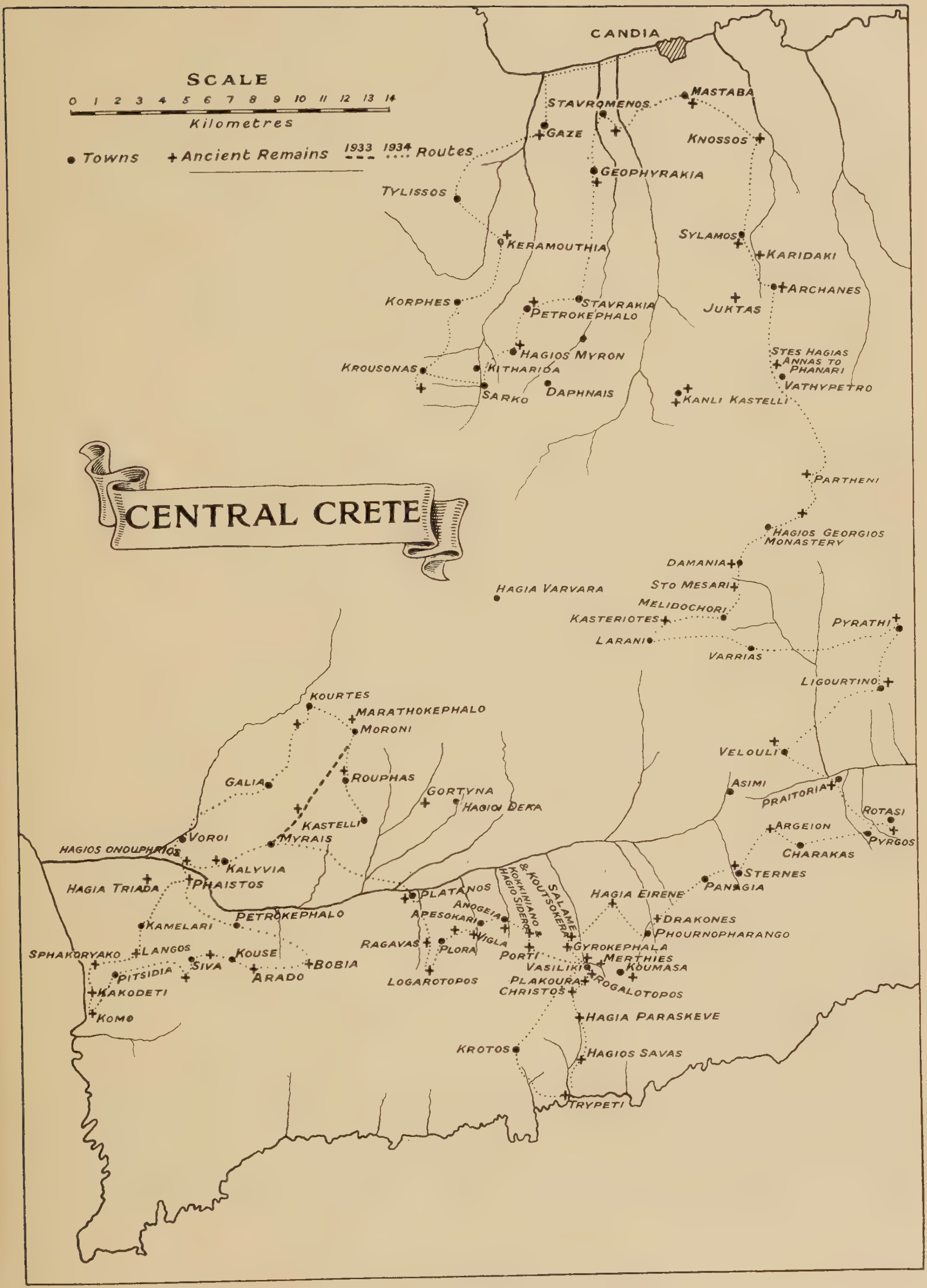
CANDIA
SCALE
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14
Kilometres
● Towns
+ Ancient Remains
1933 1934 Routes
MASTABA
STAVROMENOS
GAZE
KNOSSOS
GEOPHYRAKIA
TYLISSOS
SYLAMOS
KERAMOUTHIA
KARIDAKI
ARCHANES
KORPHES
STAVRAKIA
PETROKEPHALO
JUKTAS
HAGIOS MYRON
STES HAGIAS ANNAS TO PHANARI
KROUSONAS
KITHARIDA
SARKO
DAPHNAIS
VATHYPETRO
KANLI KASTELLI
CENTRAL CRETE
PARTHENI
HAGIOS GEORGIOS MONASTERY
DAMANIA
HAGIA VARVARA
STO MESARI
MELIDOCHORI
KASTERIOTES
PYRATHI
LARANI
VARRIAS
LIGOURTINO
KOURTES
MARATHOKEPHALO
MORONI
VELOULI
ROUPHAS
GALIA
ASIMI
GORTYNA
HAGIOI DEKA
PRAITORIA
ROTASI
KASTELLI
ARGEION
VOROI
MYRAIS
PYRGOS
HAGIOS ONOUPHRIOS
CHARAKAS
KALYVIA
STERNES
HAGIA TRIADA
PHAISTOS
KOKKINIANO & HAGIO SIDERO
KOUTSOKERA
SALAME
PANAGIA
PLATANOS
HAGIA EIRENE
ANOGEIA
APESOKARI
KAMELARI
PETROKEPHALO
DRAKONES
PHOURNOPHARANGO
VIGLA
RAGAVAS
PLORA
GYROKEPHALA
SPHAKORYAKO
LANGOS
KOUSE
PORTI
MERTHIES
SIVA
BOBIA
VASILIKI
KOUMASA
PITSIDIA
ARADO
LOGAROTOPOS
PLAKOURA
ROGALOTOPOS
CHRISTOS
KAKODETI
KOMO
HAGIA PARASKEVE
KROTOS
HAGIOS SAVAS
TRYPETI

FIG. 2.—MAP OF CENTRAL CRETE.

sherds at the spot called 'Stes Hagias Annas to Phanari, a small spur running out from the foothills of Juktas.

Partheni.—'Stou Partheni to Metochi is on the modern car road, an hour and a half beyond Vathypetro. Ten minutes to the West in a field below the road is a thick deposit of Hellenic and Roman sherds. A few traces of walling occur at the North end of the deposit, while on the West slope L.M. sherds are to be found which may have some connection with the numerous cut stones lying scattered to the South.

Half-way between here and the Monastery of St. George Apanosephes, at the point where the path to the Monastery leaves the car road, there is a small deposit of Hellenic sherds scattered over a low knoll to the right. The place is much denuded and no walls have survived.

Damania.—Twenty minutes beyond the monastery there lies an L.M. site 25 metres North of the path to Damania. Here sherds were found and a fragment of an obsidian blade. This may be the site marked by Evans in *P. of M.* II, 1 (map opposite p. 71). At the village itself L.M. graves have been found (*A.A.* 1916, 156; Δελτ. II, 172) and we were shewn the remains of a stone-lined chamber-tomb about 7 metres in diameter with its dromos to the North. All the stones had been taken, with the exception of a few at the West side near the dromos. No sherds were to be seen and, since the population is almost entirely composed of refugees, there was no recollection of its excavation.

Melidochori.—At the place called 'Sto Mesari, a quarter of an hour before Melidochori is reached, there is a small Hellenic site. But half an hour to the West of the village, on the peaks called Kasteriotes (not Ἀξὴ Κεφάλα as Spratt, I, 310 ff.), there are the ruins of an extensive city. Spratt's plan (I, 325) shews the Hellenic walls, towers and terraces which lie on the peaks and on the ridge joining them (see Pl. 12*b*). To these must be added a rectangular house of small roughly squared stones which lies to the South of the wall along the ridge, and the house in the S.W. corner of the Acropolis. The fortification wall, moreover, seems to continue Westwards down the slope for some distance. The buildings which Spratt marks as lying to the South of the site have a great deal of old stone used in their construction, but their antiquity is doubtful. The tombs mentioned by him as lying on the East slope are still a source of loot to the villagers and several Hellenistic vases and terracottas are on view in the village.

Kasteriotes is a strong candidate for the site of the ancient Arkadia, mentioned by Callimachus as the birthplace of Zeus. This city concluded an alliance with Hierapytna in the third century (Spratt II, 422) and in the confused wars of that time it deserted Knossos for Lyttos (Polybius IV, 53). It is mentioned in the Teos inscription of 193 B.C. and formed an alliance with Eumenes. The coins shew a head of Zeus or Zeus Ammon and a standing figure of Athene. Since the reference in the Peutinger

Table is obscure, Arkadia has been placed at nearly every ancient site in the centre of Crete. Spratt, Taramelli (*Mon. Ant.* ix, 338) and Pauly-Wissowa 1137 agree in putting it at Kasteriotes. Evans (*P. of M.* I, map 1) and Kiepert put it at Hagios Thomas, where there are considerable remains of a Greek city. Halbherr (*A.J.A.* 1896, 564) suggests Phrati under Lasithi, and this identification has been accepted by Levi in his account of his excavations there. Of these three sites, however, the remains on Kasteriotes are by far the most important and it seems best to place Arkadia there, particularly since otherwise there is no alternative name for this site.

Pyranthos.—The country between Larani, where the first night was spent, and Pyrathi, which perpetuates the name of Pyranthos, is devoid of archaeological interest. The town is mentioned only by Stephanos and was of little importance. Hazzidakis (Svoronos, *Num. Cret. Anc.*, 302 n.) visited the site, which is at *Trochalais* twenty minutes North of the modern village; he described the remains very justly as insignificant. There are a few late Greek and Roman sherds and much cut stone lying about (hence the name). A proconsular boundary stele from here dated to A.D. 63 is mentioned in *A.A.* 1916, 156, and we heard of a terracotta plaque with two human heads in relief which had been found by a peasant.

Ligourtino.—Evans, *Diary* 8/5/94, describes an L.M. IIIb Tholos tomb which he dug here and Taramelli (*Mont. Ant.* ix, 423) publishes some larnax burials. The site of these seems to have been to the North of the village (*P. of M.* II, i, map, p. 71). We could not find the Minoan settlement marked by Evans to which they belonged. On the South slope of the Kephala, however, five minutes East of the village, is an extensive Protogeometric and Geometric site discovered by Wace and Blegen on their journey with Manolaki the foreman in 1922. On the summit are more Geometric sherds, mixed with some Hellenic, and good rough walls. Much stone has been collected in recent times and put in heaps to facilitate cultivation. One fragment of obsidian was picked up.

Velouli.—An hour after leaving Ligourtino and half an hour after passing through Plakiotissa Metochi, we reached the tiny Velouli Metochi. Here we were shewn a number of Hellenic vases and fragments and were directed to a site called 'Stes Vakiotes ten Kephalan, ten minutes to the North. This site was mentioned in *A.A.* 1916, 156. Besides finding an L.M. sherd we saw a number of Greco-Roman tombs cut in the rock to the South of the small Acropolis (Pl. 12*c*) as well as other rock cuttings on the slope and on the summit to which our guide referred as the ' theatre.'

Praitoria.—Half an hour S.E. of Velouli is Praitoria. Fimmen, *Kret.-Myk. Kult.* 21, mentions a report of Hazzidakis that Minoan remains existed here, but all we were shewn or could find was a site in a field by the school to the N.W. of the village where some pithos burials are said to have been discovered some years ago. From the description and from a few sherds picked up close by they must have been of Roman date.

Rhytion.—Rhytion is mentioned by Homer *Il.* II, 678; by Strabo X, 634 and Stephanos. Both the latter speak of it as subject to Gortyna. The site was identified by Spratt (I, 333) as lying on the hill over Rotasi, a village on the South side of the Messara thirty-five minutes from Praitoria. Pashley (*Travels in Crete*, I, 293) had passed by, but thinking the correspondence of names too good to be true had not looked for antiquities. The only description of the remains is by Spratt (*loc. cit.*) and Evans (*Diary* 2/4/94). It is a very large site, nearly a mile long and includes the whole of the Kephala above the village. Many ancient cut stones are scattered on the N.W. slope and there are fine rough polygonal walls at various levels up to the summit, most particularly at the N.W. angle and along the N. side. On the summit itself was a square building of small stones which from the absence of sherds in the bonding clay seemed to be of somewhat earlier date than Roman. Hellenic sherds are common, one Orientalising sherd was found and a few large pithos fragments which might well be L.M. I.

Argeion.—After spending the night in the school house at Pyrgos, we proceeded via Charakas to a site we were told of called Argeion (Ἄργειον seemed to be the local pronunciation). This lies in the plain between two windmills, half an hour from Charakas and about the same distance from Asime. There, as was to be expected in a flat low-lying area, few traces of walls were to be found, but the surface was covered with Roman sherds and a small admixture of Hellenic.

Sternes and Panagia.—Turning S.W. to Sternes, we saw the Roman cistern (*A.A.* 1916, 156) which lies to the West of the village and in another quarter of an hour reached Panagia. Here we were shewn an ' Aeginetan turtle ' and two coins of Gordian, and heard of a burial to the West of the village which had since been filled in but had undoubtedly been of Roman date.

Phournopharango.—The site of Drakones (Xanthoudides, *Vaulted Tombs of Messara*, 76 ff.) lies some way to the right of the track. It is now entirely filled in. But about a quarter of an hour before the village of Phournopharango is reached there is a small deposit of Roman sherds in a field to the North of the path. In the village itself we were shewn a few Imperial Roman coins and a Greco-Roman terracotta head which had been found in the fields.

About three-quarters of an hour N.W. of Phournopharango, and twenty minutes West of the church of Hagia Eirene, lie the tombs excavated by Xanthoudides (*V.T.M.* 51 ff.). An hour further on lies Vasiliki, where two nights were spent.

Vasiliki.—The village lies at the junction of a number of routes from the Messara and the South coast, as well as from the villages of the Asterousia range such as Koumasa (Xanthoudides, *V.T.M.* 3 ff.) and Miamou (Taramelli, *A.J.A.* 1897, 287 ff.). At the North end of the village many good M.M. I sherds are to be seen in the road cutting by the school. At Merthies, a quarter of an hour S.E. of the village, there are traces of a circular stone building with a wall along the diameter. E.M. sherds and a complete jug being found here, it appears that this must be a variation of the usual simple round ossuary so common in the Messara. Further up to the East lie more ancient walls, but no sherds were visible. At Gyrokephala, fifteen minutes North of Vasiliki, there are walls on the summit of a small rise and many sherds, mostly E.M., but including a few M.M. and Roman. Ten minutes East of Gyrokephala are the tombs of Koutsokera and Salame (Xanthoudides, *V.T.M.* 73 ff.). Both are much ruined and no trace of the settlement in connection with Salame was to be seen. At Rogalotopos, five minutes South of the village, had been found part of the base of a funeral stele, bearing in late characters the inscription NEA$\overset{\mathrm{Y}}{\Theta}$NHTΩ, but on visiting the site we could find nothing but a section of Roman drain-pipe.

The site at Plakoura, fifteen minutes S.W. of the village, may conveniently be mentioned here. It lies on a small spur at a point where the path to Miamu branches off from that to Christos and the South coast. Here there were traces of a building similar to that mentioned above at Merthies, circular stone foundations with a central division. There are a number of other walls round it and a few E.M. sherds were found.

The Goulopharango Gorge and *Trypeti.*—The site of Christos lies just over half an hour South of Plakoura. The circular tomb (Xanthoudides, *V.T.M.* 70 ff.) is in a good state of preservation, but the settlement and sanctuary (*P. of M.* II, i, 81) have been filled in. Twenty minutes steep descent brought us to the top of the Goulopharango gorge, where, near the church of Hagia Paraskeve, there was a small building, probably a fort guarding the head of the pass. The sherds found in it were M.M. I. A quarter of an hour down the gorge traces of banking of the Minoan road are visible at the side of the path and a quarter of an hour further is the church of Hagios Savas. Five minutes S.W. of this is a rectangular building on the edge of the cliff which here descends absolutely sheer to the torrent bed. This building had good walls of cut stone and within it were L.M. I and L.M. III sherds together with a few Roman ones. These latter are probably connected with the fragments of Roman plaster which lie near by (Pl. 13*a*).

Soon afterwards the gorge narrows down and at several points the river itself is the only path. In many ways it is strongly reminiscent of the Hagia Roumeli gorge, which it rivals in wildness and beauty. The mouth opens out on to a wide beach known as Trypeti from the pierced rock at the West end. This site is described by Evans (*P. of M.* II, i, 82 ff.).

In addition to the remains there mentioned must be added a further terrace wall at a higher level. This belongs to the M.M. II–L.M. I group of buildings. Further West recent heavy rains have laid bare an extensive Geometric settlement with rectangular rooms (Pl. 12*d*). These same rains seem to have destroyed the Roman cistern mentioned by Evans. We could find nothing in the cave above the site and there were no traces of the sherds which we were told lay scattered over a large area at Kalokampos East of Trypeti. But all our observations confirmed Evans's supposition of the Minoan track leading down to this harbour by the route we had come.

We returned to Vasiliki via the village of Krotos, where, we had heard, a fine crystal gem had been found. It had, however, been sold and no one was certain of the exact provenance.

Porti and Anogeia.—The circular tomb at Porti (Xanthoudides, *V.T.M.* 54 ff.) lies half an hour N.W. of Vasiliki. It is much ruined and the settlement is filled in. But at Kokkiniano, fifteen minutes to the North, we found traces of a similar tomb. No sherds could be found in it, however, though some indistinguishable ones lay in a field to the North. At Hagio Sidero, fifteen minutes West of Porti, we heard of walls recently destroyed and picked up some sherds, most of which were Roman.

Vasiliki Anogeia, which lies some twenty-five minutes on, was the scene of the discovery of a number of L.M. IIIb chamber tombs and larnakes published by Orsi (*Mon. Ant.* i, 203 and xiv, 679). These have been filled in.

Apesokari, Plora, Pyloros, Baukos.—From Anogeia to Apesokari is three-quarters of an hour. Close to the village are two sites. At Vigla (look-out post), fifteen minutes above the village to the S.W., rain had recently exposed a circular stone tomb five metres in diameter with its entrance to the East. A few E.M. sherds were scattered about and the villagers had grubbed up a great many of the latest interments, fortunately without discovering any objects. They were persuaded to desist from their enthusiastic operations and steps have been taken by Mr. Marinatos the Ephor to conduct systematic work. There are also traces of a settlement a little way up the slope.

At Hellenika, five minutes N.W. of the village, cultivation had led to the discovery of many massive Greco-Roman walls and cisterns. Both Hellenic and Roman sherds were common over a large area extending nearly as far as the village of Plora, twenty-five minutes away. These remains do not seem to have been noted previously. They must almost certainly be those of Pyloros (Pliny IV, 12), a name which, as Pashley was the first to remark, had descended to the modern Plora. Close to the village and just South of the ancient site is the large quarry of Voukouliades, whence stone was transported to Phaistos.

Beyond Plora lie two sites. The first is at Lagarotopos, a summit thirty-five minutes S.W. of the village. Here are many walls, Hellenic and Roman sherds and, on the extreme summit, pieces of Roman column bases. The second site is at Ragavas, which lies immediately below Lagarotopos and a bare quarter of an hour from Plora. Here again Hellenic and Roman sherds were common and the traces of walls extensive. Either of these sites might be the ancient Baukos which Skylax says is South of Gortyna.

From this point our route lay by Platanos, an hour to the North, where the two largest tombs excavated by Xanthoudides (*V.T.M.* 88) are still exposed, and Kalyvia where are the L.M. chamber tombs described in *Mon. Ant.* xiv, 501, to Phaistos, where two nights were spent in the ugly but comfortable government rest-house.

Komo, etc.—Our route from Phaistos to the coast passes Kamelari and descends a gorge called Langos. In this gorge, twenty-five minutes beyond Kamelari, an E.M. II sherd was found together with other (undatable) handmade fragments. Five minutes later a good wall actually crosses the path with another at right angles to it further down. The sherds here were unfortunately undatable. Half an hour further down, the gorge opens out on to a flat sandy beach to the North of which is a steep slope called Sphakoryako or Peristeria. The Minoan station here is described by Evans (*P. of M.* II, i, 90). There are remains of walls on the slope and a few M.M. III sherds.

Half-way between Sphakoryako and Komo to the South there is a small headland called Kakodeti. Here are good walls and a stone drain running beside them, but no sherds on the surface.

The great Minoan port of Komo has been fully described by Evans (*P. of M.* II, i, 88, fig. 42), who gives a plan of its principal features. The only point to be raised is that the walls on Vigles, the southern summit, give us the impression of belonging rather to an apsidal building than to a segment of a tomb of a primitive beehive type. Close by an E.M. I sherd was found. It is certainly a magnificent site. ‘The whole area bordering the shore for a width of about half a mile may be said to be strewn with Minoan remains.’

Siva and *Kouse.*—The Siva tombs (Paribeni, *Ausonia* viii, 13–32) are situated at a spot called ’Stes Archontissas ton Lakkon in the field called ’Sto Archaiochorapho from the discovery of a hoard of coins there about 40 years ago (Marinatos, Δελτ. 1924/25, 77). It is some twenty-five minutes S.E. of the village. Both the tombs are still well preserved, the slabs which act as door-jambs for the larger or Southern tomb having escaped the local builders.

Half-way between the villages of Siva and Kouse lies the site ’Stou Vrachnou ton Lakkon where Marinatos (Δελτ. 1924/25, 77) found a Middle

Minoan house which had been used as a burial-place in Christian times. On a rise to the South we found Roman sherds.

Bobia.—The important village of Bobia lies about an hour East of Kouse. About twenty-five minutes before reaching it, at the top of a pass before the track descends to the river West of the village, is a spot which seemed, at a distance of a quarter of a mile from our informant, to be called Arado. He may merely have shouted Ἔρα ᾽δῶ, 'Come here.' Here good stretches of walling cross the path and seem to form a small fort. No sherds could be found.

At the East side of Bobia is a Middle Minoan site with sherds of the 'trickle ware' and some walls. Investigation was difficult owing to the height to which the corn had grown.

Pashley (I, 299), Taramelli (*Mon. Ant.* ix, 297) and others have placed here the ancient Boibe, said by Stephanos to be in Gortynian territory. Local tradition says that the site is at 'Sten Limnen, a knoll twenty minutes to the North where graves have been found. We could find no traces of walls or sherds there and it is possible that the graves were Byzantine and connected with the Monastery Metochi just below. The modern name, however, so resembles Boibe that it is possible that the ancient site is completely built over. From Bobia to Phaistos via Petrokephalo is an hour and a half.

Kourtes, Marathokephalo, Rouphas.—Immediately above the Kapheneion on the main road below Phaistos is Hagios Onouphrios where the E.M. and M.M. objects published by Evans (*Cretan Pictographs, Supp.*, 105 ff.) were found. No trace of a building is left, but it is highly probable that they came from a circular tomb of the usual type.

From Phaistos to Kourtes, via Voroi and Galia, is three hours. The Protogeometric cemetery excavated by Halbherr and Taramelli (*A.J.A.* 1901, 294 ff.) lies on the slopes of a curious sugar-loaf hill some ten minutes S.W. of the village. The tombs are small and like beehives, built of rough slabs of stone. There is nowhere any trace of a dromos and the bodies must have been inserted through the roof. The settlement lies below to the South-East where some possibly Minoan sherds were found.

An hour further East lies the circular tomb of Marathokephalo, excavated by Xanthoudides (Δελτ. IV, Παράρτ., 21), which is ten minutes North of the village of Moroni. It is much overgrown and a good deal of the stone seems to have been taken for the sheepfold which abuts on to it. Through Moroni passes the main Minoan route to the South from Knossos, and here it branches into two. One branch goes down to Myrais, passing on the way a group of L.M. III larnax burials discovered the previous year by the Curator outside a series of caves by a spring. The other branch brought us in three-quarters of an hour to Rouphas (*P. of M.* II, i, 80), where five minutes above the village are the gypsum slabs mentioned by Evans (*loc. cit.*), now very much weathered.

Half an hour to the South we rejoined the car road at Kastelli Kainouriou and returned to Knossos.

III. Malevizi (Map, Fig. 2).

This expedition was undertaken by Miss Eccles, Miss Money-Coutts and Mr. Lavers during the three days from April 18th–April 20th.

Mastaba.—In the road cuttings South-East of this village, which lies half an hour North of Knossos, Hellenistic and Roman sherds and Roman glass are abundant, and seem to shew the existence of an extensive site, though all traces of walls have disappeared. It must have been a suburb of the classical Herakleion, the modern Candia.

Stavromenos.—Hazzidakis (*A.M.*, 1913, 43) found here an M.M. III larnax and some pithos burials, but we could hear of no other antiquities near by and the caves by the road shewed no traces of occupation. We did, however, find Roman sherds by the side of a path South-East of the church.

Geophyrakia.—This site lies half an hour South of Stavromenos. During a previous visit the Curator had seen L.M. sherds by the path which skirts the village to the East, and five minutes South of the village we found M.M. I and M.M. III sherds in the banks beside the road and in a field to the East.

Stavrakia.—Orsi (*A.J.A.* 1897, 259) publishes a Geometric amphora from here and Mariani (*Mon. Ant.* vi, 230) describes L.M. and Geometric vases, but the present inhabitants of the village know of no remains.

Petrokephalo.—At this village, which lies fifty minutes South of Stavrakia, Mariani (*Mon. Ant.* vi, 23) places the necropolis both historic and prehistoric of Rhaukos (Hagios Myron; see below). We were here shewn an M.M. III cup found near by in addition to some Byzantine pottery and metal-work. We were also conducted to a site twenty minutes North-East of the village where M.M. III pithos burials had recently been found. A few sherds and some stones mark the spot.

Hagios Myron, etc.—This town lies twenty minutes South-East of Petrokephalo. Pashley (I, 234), Kiepert, Mariani (*Mon. Ant.* vi, 228, etc.) and others place here the ancient Rhaukos. This was an important city in antiquity and (Polybius xxiii 15) succeeded, in alliance with Gortyna, in wresting Lykastos from Knossos. Its power, however, was finally destroyed by Gortyna and Knossos in 166 or 164 B.C. St. Myron himself is said to have been born at Rhaukos and the identification is generally recognised, though Spratt (I, 85) would put Rhaukos at Kanli Kastelli from the likeness of the name Rocca applied in mediaeval times to the twin peaks. This, however, is almost certainly Lykastos. Mariani (*loc. cit.*)

thought that the ancient city lay entirely below the modern town, but a large site extends over several fields and vineyards on a small hill South-East of the town and slightly below it. Many Greek and Roman sherds are visible and much stone lies on the surface, including definitely worked blocks.

From here the path descends to the two lovely villages of Kitharida and Sarko which lie on the banks of the Gazanos river, the ancient Triton. No trace of a site could be found though the Candia Museum possesses an L.M. III vase (1575) said to come from the latter.

Krousonas.—The night was spent at Krousonas. Geometric vases have been reported from a site above the village called Cheiromandres or Prinori (Δελτ. IV, 10), and Taramelli (*Mon. Ant.* ix, 322, plan on 326) describes walls and a stairway on the ' κοῦφο ' which he takes to be an L.M. Acropolis. We ourselves could find no traces of any Minoan occupation on the hill, which lies South of the village, but there are walls and stones all over the summit and many sherds of every period from Geometric to Roman.

Kastelli Malevizi.—From the village of Keramouthia, which is situated two hours North of Krousonas, we were guided to a hill a quarter of an hour to the North-East, which is known as Kastelli Malevizi. On the summit are the foundations of a rectangular building made of solid blocks, and in the surrounding fields are a number of plain Roman or Byzantine sherds. A villager spoke of a stairway discovered some years ago on the South slope of the hill, but this, if it ever existed, has now disappeared.

Gaze.—After spending the night at Tylissos (now fully published by Hazzidakis) we proceeded to Gaze. Near a small church on the Retimo road just South-West of the village, between it and the Gazanos river, we found evidence of an extensive and important Minoan site. In the bank, on either side of the road, there are sherds of every period from M.M. I to L.M. I as well as one probably of E.M. III date. Minoan sherds are also abundant in the bank of a vineyard to the North, though here both Hellenic and Roman pottery appears as well. There are traces of a wall at the South side of the road and some of the stones now used for terracing to the North may be ancient blocks. This is presumably the settlement to which the M.M. III pithos burial described by Hazzidakis (Δελτ. III, 60 ff.) belonged.

The village itself is now inhabited by refugees who knew of no antiquities and we failed to discover the M.M. III–L.M. I settlement at the mouth of the river which Evans (*P. of M.* II, i, 231) suggests is the harbour of Tylissos.

IV. EAST CRETE (Map, Fig. 3).

The following journey occupied the eleven days from April 21st–May 1st. The Curator was accompanied by Mr. and Mrs. Seton Lloyd

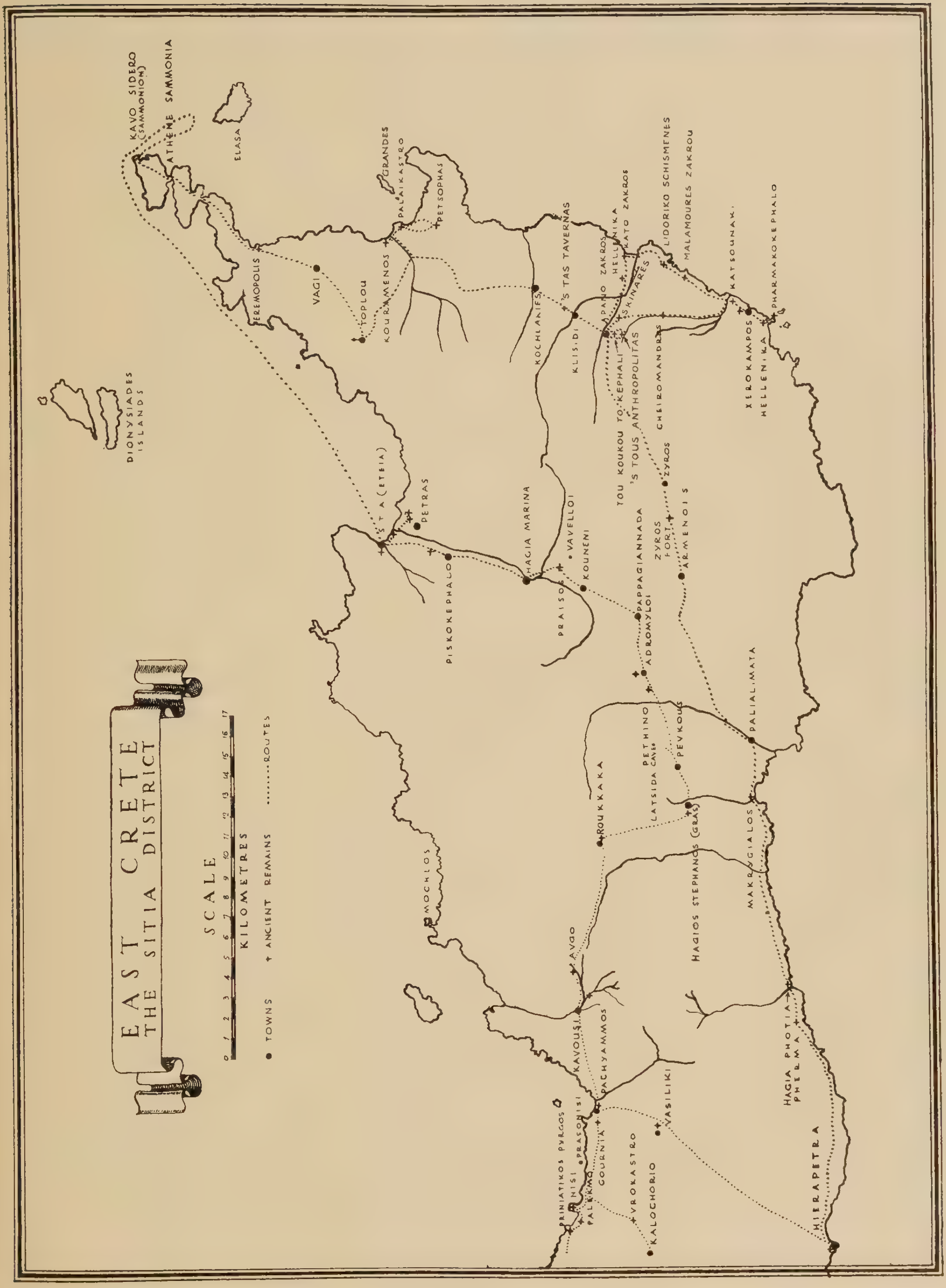
EAST CRETE
THE SITIA DISTRICT
SCALE
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17
KILOMETRES
● TOWNS
+ ANCIENT REMAINS
.... ROUTES
KAVO SIDERO (SAMMONION)
ATHENE SAMMONIA
ELASA
GRANDES
PALAIKASTRO
PETSOPHAS
EREMOPOLIS
VAGI
TOPLOU
KOURAMENOS
DIONYSIADES ISLANDS
KOCHLANIES
'S TAS TAVERNAS
KLIS.DI
APANO ZAKROS
HELLENIKA
KATO ZAKROS
SKINARES
LIDORIKO SCHISMENES
MALAMOURES ZAKROU
KATSOUNAKI
PHARMAKOKEPHALO
XEROKAMPOS
HELLENIKA
TOU KOUKOU TO KEPHALI
'S TOUS ANTHROPOLITAS
CHEIROMANDRES
ZYROS
STIA (ETEIA)
PETRAS
HAGIA MARINA
VAVELLOI
KOUNENI
PRAISOS
PISKOKEPHALO
PAPPAGIANNADA
ADROMYLOI
ZYROS FORT
ARMENOI S
PETHINO
LATSIDA CAVE
PEVKOUS
ROUKKAKA
PALIAI.MATA
MAKRYGIALOS
HAGIOS STEPHANOS (GRAS)
MOCHLOS
AVGO
KAVOUSI
PACHYAMMOS
VASILIKI
PRASONISI
PYRGOS
KRINIATIKOS
NISI
GOURNIA
PALEKKO
VROKASTRO
KALOCHORIO
HAGIA PHOTIA
PHERMA
HIERAPETRA

Fig. 3.—Map of Eastern Crete.

of the Chicago University Oriental Institute's Iraq expedition, and by Captain G. R. Wyndham. The primary object of the expedition was to revisit as many as possible of the sites discovered by Sir Arthur Evans on his travels in the 'nineties and to attempt to date the unexcavated remains more accurately than was then possible. Sir Arthur had most kindly lent me the diaries of these travels and it is interesting to see how few new sites have been discovered since then. In some ways the expedition was disappointing, for so many of the sites were in the nature of small forts guarding the main roads and passes. In many of them pottery is non-existent and the rough masonry of such blockhouses affords no evidence as to date.

Phazipetra.—Evans's *Diary* 1899. This site, which is described as a small fort, is said to lie some forty minutes above Hagios Nikolaos and to guard the main pass over to Neapolis. The name seems to have dropped out of use, but since the modern car road follows the older mule track almost exactly, the position could be determined more or less. At a point ten minutes by car before Hagios Nikolaos was reached, Captain Wyndham noticed a small spur to the left of the road which seemed an excellent place for a fort, indeed the only suitable spot for some distance. No walls could be found, but there were a few M.M. III sherds. Whether this is Phazipetra or not it is hard to say. The stones previously seen may well have been removed.

Hagios Nikolaos.—This town almost certainly stands on the site of Lato pros Kamara, the port of Lato ' Etera ' (see Evans and Myres, *B.S.A.* ii, 170). Such remains as have survived are to be seen on the two small headlands which bound the small harbour to the South of the main port. Here there are considerable stretches of good walling stretching down in broad terraces from the ridge to the sea. Spratt (I, 142 ff.) saw these walls and made a rough plan of them on which is based Admiralty Chart 2850. The sherds lying on the surface were entirely Roman, agreeing with Evans's *Diary* 17/4/94. Earlier pottery has, however, been found here, for Xanthoudides in *B.S.A.* xii, 18, figs. 4 and 5 describes an L.M. III kernos discovered here in 1903.

The choice of the site in ancient times was partly due to the harbours; these have an anchorage in 7 or 8 fathoms, which is considerably superior to that at Poros by Spina Longa. In antiquity it must also have had a good stretch of sand on which to beach the ships, for the bottom shelves gradually and the three-fathoms line, which may here be taken to represent the ancient coast line, is well out.

The South-West corner of the Gulf of Mirabello is filled with sites. Round about here lie the ancient cities of Istron, Minoa and Olontion, and they must be divided between the following sites.

Priniatikos Pyrgos, etc.—Priniatikos Pyrgos is a small promontory North of Kalochorio. An account of its partial excavation is given in *Transactions of Pennsylvania University* III, 3, p. 79 ff. There is an extensive Minoan settlement here with pottery of all dates from E.M. II to L.M. I. Above this lies a fair-sized Roman deposit. The Roman sherds continue round the bay. At Katavati, the landing-place for Kalochorio, they begin to be mixed with Hellenistic and Hellenic, and after a small ruined fort, of which only the rough foundation blocks remain in the fields called Palekmo, they merge into the big Greco-Roman site of the promontory of Nisi. Now this district was known shortly before Spratt's time as στὴν Νίστρωνα, a name more particularly applied to the village now called Kalochorio, and it seems reasonable to suppose that Istron includes it all. Miss Hall (*Trans. Penn. Univ.*, *loc. cit.*) suggests that Nisi may be Olontion, since a number of coins of that city have been picked up there. But since the site has no apparent break in it, and we have the very definite evidence of the name, it is safer to place Istron here and to consider Olontion to be another form of Olous which is safely situated at Spina Longa, or indeed merely the genitive plural of the inhabitants.

Minoa, mentioned by Ptolemy as being on the North coast, and placed by Spratt (I, 138) Pashley (map) and Evans (*P. of M.* I, map I) in this corner, is most probably to be looked for at Pachyammos (cf. *Trans. Penn. Univ.* I, 13). The small island, Prasonisi, which is passed before reaching Gournia, has a late inscription on its South face, containing the names Euthytimos, Chrysippos, Nikandros, etc. (*Trans. Penn. Univ.* I, 15).

Kavousi, etc.—The main site at Kavousi is situated on the steep cliffs a long way above the village (*A.J.A.* 1901), but while waiting for the baggage mules to catch up just on the Eastern outskirts of the village we discovered an ancient wall, partly buried, and late Greek or Roman pottery.

An hour of steep climbing through some of the wildest country in Crete brings one suddenly to the beautiful fertile valley of Avgo. Here, below the chapel of the Panagia, are the Cyclopean walls of a large rectangular building, perhaps a guardhouse. A few L.M. IIIb sherds were found here. It was first visited by Evans (*Diary* 14/4/94) and excavated by Miss Hall (*Trans. Penn. Univ.* I, 18). Hastings (*A.J.A.* 1905, 277) describes a hoard of bronze weapons, tools and seal-stones found here by Niko Saradakis, Seager's man.

On our leaving the valley, the country became very wild as far as the village of Roukkaka. Here to the South of the village is a small Roman site. Captain Wyndham discovered this by sitting down heavily on the sharp point of a sherd. There seemed to be a few walls, but the corn was too high to make exploration easy.

Just over an hour beyond Roukkaka lies Hagios Stephanos. The name of this until recent years was Gras. It has been entirely repopulated and the old name has completely dropped out of use. Owing to this, an inquiry having elicited no information from the present inhabitants, I did not think of looking for the Cyclopean walls close to the village seen by Evans (*Diary* 1898) and it was not for some days that I found out where 'Gras' had been.

The night was spent at Pevkous, some two thousand feet above which is a large cave known as Latsida. Although no antiquities were reported as coming from here it was evidently worth visiting, the more so since there is a certain amount of evidence to shew that the Dictaean cave is not that at Psykhro (*B.S.A.* vi) but should rather be looked for in these mountains (*Klio* XI, 433). This cave must be one of the most extensive in Crete, rivalling that at Skoteino. The entrance is a practically sheer drop of some 20 feet and two galleries open off it. These widen out into great halls of stalactites, which stretch an unknown distance into the mountain. The entrance being merely a funnel has received the concentrated silt from all four sides and the deposit of earth and small stones must be of a considerable thickness. Naturally no sherds were found, but the cave would certainly repay a more thorough examination than, lacking an electric torch, I was able to give.

The Praisos District.—The path descends steeply from Pevkous and skirts the mountain above the gorge of the Adromyloi river. After crossing the river the path continues to the village of the same name. Half an hour before the village is reached there is an area to the right of the path called Pethino. Here there are the foundations of two round structures built of rough stones, and a little to the S.W. there seem to be traces of more walls in a field. The pottery was scanty but was all hand-made, though no definite types could be distinguished. It is possible that here we have two more of the circular tombs whose home is the Messara, but which seem to have spread at least as far as the North coast (cf. Krasi and Kalergi above). At the village we were unable to find the position of the tomb dug by Bosanquet in 1901 (*B.S.A.* viii, 249), containing Geometric pottery described by Droop (*B.S.A.* xii, 43 ff., 57 ff.).

From Adromyloi to Praisos is an easy walk of somewhat over two hours. The excavations here and at the adjoining sites of Vavelloi and the Neolithic cave of Skalais are too well known to need description (*B.S.A.* viii, x, xi, xii, xv, xvi; *J.H.S.* xix).

The Sitia District.—From Praisos to Sitia is a walk of about two and a half hours. Half an hour before Sitia is reached lies the large village of Piskokephalo. A mile beyond this Evans (*Diary* 12/4/94) discovered a Middle Minoan I site to the left of the modern road, with walls of rough masonry similar to those at Petras (see below). Here Marinatos (*J.H.S.* 1932, 255) found clay figurines of the Petsophas type.

Sitia evidently preserves the name of the ancient Eteia mentioned by Stephanos as the birthplace of Myson, a candidate for the post of one of the seven wise men. The remains are insignificant and consist of a few traces of Roman walls at the mouth of the river, which has recently flooded, and a few Hellenic sherds and the legend of a wall of good masonry in the field called 'Sta Charakia of Mr. Plakiotakis, a merchant, to the S.W. of the town. Much no doubt lies below the sea, since the subsidence of the East end of Crete somewhere in the sixth century A.D. reached its maximum about here. A few objects are known to have come from here, notably a blue glaze *shawabti* figure of the XXVIth Dynasty which I saw in the hands of a dealer, and the headless terracotta figurine of a female votary published in *Mon. Ant.* VI, 175. The Cycladic marble figurine published in *P. of M.* I, 115 must have come from one of the sites near by.

The site of Petras lies above the village of that name a quarter of an hour East of Sitia. Spratt (I, 161) thought that here were the ruins of Eteia, and the remains visible in his day are planned under that name in Admiralty Chart A. 2724. But excavations by Bosanquet (*B.S.A.* viii, 282) revealed Middle and Late Minoan houses only, both under the road West of the village and on the summit to the South-East. A further investigation on this journey revealed Late Minoan sherds and walls on the hill immediately to the East.

A mile East of Petras is one of the many spots called Papoures. Here Xanthoudides ('Εφημ. 1904, 52) found an L.M. IIIb larnax.

North-Eastern Crete.—From Sitia our plan had been to take a boat out to the Dionysiades Islands, on to Elasa Island and so to Eremopolis, where our muleteer would be ready to take our luggage up to the Monastery of Toplou. This plan was wrecked by the knavery of the boatman, whom after five hours of quarrelling we forced to land us at Cape Sidero, the extreme North-East corner of the island. Here, fortunately, the lighthouse attendants had a donkey for the luggage and a very forced march on my part enabled me to examine the remains at Eremopolis before going on to Toplou.

Kavo Sidero is the Sammonian promontory of the ancients. Just to the South, Spratt (I, 189) saw remains of a quadrangular building, perhaps the temple of Athene Sammonia (*Periplus*; marked in *P. of M.* I, map I). He also mentions an inscription in the chapel above it but gives no details.

By going at full stretch you can reach Eremopolis in an hour and three quarters. The ruins here were attributed by Spratt (I, 195, followed by Admiralty Chart 2715) either to Etera (shewn by Svoronos 217 ff. to be ' the other ' Lato, *i.e.* the site at Goulas as opposed to Lato pros Kamara at Hagios Nikolaos) or to Arsinoe; the latter, on the rather delightful grounds that a fragment of a granite column and the grove of wild palms at Vagi close by must shew an Egyptian connection! Probably the ruins are those of Itanos, an important town on the East coast mentioned in Herodotos iv, 151 as having received messengers sent to investigate Cretan inroads into Libya. Pashley (I, 290) and Spratt (II, 430) publish an arbitration award made by the Magnesians between Itanos and Hierapytna on a block of stone built into the church wall at Toplou.

The site overlooks two bays (Pl. 13*c*). There are remains of a fine Hellenic wall seven or eight courses high on the promontory between the two bays as well as considerable stretches of rougher work. To the North are a number of Greco-Roman tombs, while column fragments in granite, marble and sandstone are still common, though recently in great demand for building material. Evans (*Diary* 1896) speaks of a Minoan ' Polichna ' here, but in the short time available before dark I was unable to identify any Minoan remains or sherds.

Palaikastro.—Palaikastro and the outlying sites of Kouramenos, Petsophas, etc. have been described by Bosanquet, Dawkins and others in *B.S.A.* viii–xii, and the *Supplementary Paper.* Of the excavations, everything has been filled in but Blocks X and M and the sanctuary of Petsophas. Bosanquet (*B.S.A.* viii, 288 and xi, 298) suggests that the Greek remains found here are those of the ancient city of Eleia or Heleia, since the temple of Dictaean Zeus (*B.S.A.* viii) is stated in the arbitration inscription at Toplou, mentioned above, to have been in this city.

The easiest route South to Zakros skirts the West side of Petsophas and passes through Kochlakies. From here Bosanquet (*B.S.A.* ix, 276) obtained two ' Kamares ' vases, but the present inhabitants have no recollection of any antiquities being found in their district. At Zakros, however, we were told of an ' English lady ' who had excavated a great treasure at the mouth of the gorge which runs down from Kochlakies. Information, however, stopped short at this point and the nature of the treasure was never revealed. But it had been sold for ἄφθονα χρήματα.

Just before Klisidi is reached, an ancient wall of large polygonal blocks is visible a little way to the left of the path. This is part of the building, an irregular L-shaped structure, known as 'Stas Tavernas. Near it lie the foundations of a square building of smaller stones. 'Stas Tavernas was excavated by Hogarth (*B.S.A.* vii, 148). Practically nothing was found in it and the only datable pottery consisted of two probably Geometric sherds.

Zakros.—The excavations at Kato Zakros have been described by Hogarth (*B.S.A.* vii). They are now entirely filled in except for the buildings at the South end of the bay. The following outlying sites were visited: 1. Hellenika (*B.S.A.* vii, 145). This settlement of the Geometric period is situated in the middle of the gorge of the Zakros river (Pl. 13*b*). In this it resembled the rocky eyries of Vrokastro and Kavousi. Life indeed must have been hard in Eastern Crete after the fall of the Minoan civilisation. In connection with this settlement are the cave-burials excavated by Hogarth (*loc. cit.*). 2. Cheiromandres, which lies about half-way between Apano Zakros and Xerokampos (see below) in a very beautiful valley.

This site was first visited by Evans (*Academy* 4/7/96) and was later excavated by Hogarth (*B.S.A.* vii, 147), who could find no datable remains. The masonry is like that of 'Stas Tavernas (above), and in a crevice near by I found a Geometric sherd. 3. 'Stou Koukou to Kephali is the hill about twenty minutes South of Apano Zakros. Hogarth (*loc. cit.*) made a trial excavation there and found little. Archaic terracottas and Geometric pottery have been found. 4. 'Stous Anthropolitas is a continuation of the above Southward. Evans (*Academy* 20/6/96) mentions a Minoan figurine and pottery. Hogarth (*loc. cit.*) speaks of very faint traces of a late settlement and Bosanquet (*B.S.A.* ix, 276) publishes a large figurine of an ox in red clay and others of rude fabric. I found here a little L.M. IIIa in a pocket in the rock. The other sites round about, *viz.* Xerokampolina, Ampelis, Vigles Skoulaza, Skaphe Vaklias, are discussed by Hogarth (*loc. cit.*). Time was too short to visit them. But a new site was found at Skinares, a low hill twenty-five minutes S.E. of Apano Zakros. Here the slope is strewn with L.M. I sherds.

Two fresh sites or rather remains of buildings were discovered during a walk along the rocky coast from Kato Zakros to Xerokampos (see below). About thirty-five minutes South of Zakros bay is the spot called Lidoriko Schismenes, where on the South side of a small gorge running down to the sea are the rough walls of a fort. The sherds were unpainted but certainly Minoan. The East wall of the building is continued along the path Southwards and just over the brow of the hill there is a kind of viaduct banked on both sides. Twenty minutes further on at Malamoures Zakrou is a long stretch of ' Cyclopean ' walling to the West of the path. There were no sherds.

There was a well-defined track along the coast between the two important sites of Zakros and Pharmakokephalon (see below) which saved over an hour, for the only other route would be to go up the gorge towards Apano Zakros and to cut round by Cheiromandres and descend the difficult Katsounaki gorge.

Xerokampos (*Ampelos*).—The coast track enters the plain of Xerokampos at the North of the Katsounaki gorge. Here at the North end of the plain is a small fort of the same type as most of the Minoan guard stations, but no sherds could be found. Above this are Greco-Roman tombs hollowed in the cliffs (not cave-houses, as Evans, *Diary* 1896). The whole of the plain as far as the village is littered with cut stones, some re-used in modern walls. Traces of the ancient walls can be made out here and there in the fields. The pottery is entirely Greco-Roman.

This site was first identified by Spratt (I, 238) as Ampelos, mentioned by Pliny (IV, 59). He saw the foundations of a small walled city built of quadrangular blocks of local sandstone. Evans (*Diary loc. cit.*) and Halbherr agree, since the islands of Onisia, probably the Kavallous Islands, are mentioned in connection with Ampelos. Hogarth (*B.S.A.* vii, 121), however, doubts the attribution.

Twenty minutes South of the village, by the church of Hagios Nikolaos, is the site known as Hellenika (Evans, *Diary loc. cit.*). Here L.M. I vases have been found and L.M. I sherds lie fairly thick. There is a small patch of Greco-Roman sherds in a field just to the North of the church.

The plain of Xerokampos is bounded to the South by the promontory of Pharmakokephalo. Along the North side of this runs a wall; there are no sherds. But on the headland itself overlooking the Kavallous Islands are a quantity of L.M. I. and Roman sherds. The site was discovered by Evans (*Diary*, *loc. cit.*) and he was inclined to place Ampelos here on the headland.

Doubts have been cast on the probability of an important city's being built on a waterless site with no good anchorage (*Mediterranean Pilot* IV, 53). But there is an abundance of good water quite close to the surface and a good flat beach sufficed for the drawing up of the ships.

Zyros.—The country inland from Zakros and Ampelos is wild in the extreme, until the fertile plain of Zyros is reached. The many remains which are grouped round here as well as the road system have been described by Evans (*Academy* 4/7/96 and *Diary* 1898). Time was unfortunately too short to visit any but the fort, which lies at the Western opening of the valley in the pass to Chandra. This is a well-built little guardhouse half an hour from the village. The masonry certainly looks Minoan, but there were no sherds.

Makrygialos and *Hagia Photia.*—The tiny fishing village of Makrygialos lies on the coast about four hours West of Zyros. At the mouth of the dry watercourse there is a cutting in which a few M.M. III sherds appear. On the surface is a small deposit of Roman pottery. The main Roman site, however, is on the promontory to the West, where there has been a Roman town of some size going down to very late days. The walls were mostly hidden by the corn but a good cistern is visible. From here came a late Roman or early Byzantine grave stele of a lady ’Αρχο . . . now at Hagios Stephanos (Gras).

Two and a half hours further West is Hagia Photia. At the mouth of the river is a small site of late Roman date, while above the village to the West are similar late walls where apparently trial pits were sunk when the E.M. tombs were dug. These tombs (*Trans. Penn. Univ.*, I, 183 ff., *Gournia*, 56, 60, *Mon. Ant.* XIX, 204) are some thirty minutes further West, near the hamlet of Pherma.

Three hours to the West lies Hierapetra, the ruins of which have been described by Spratt (I, 253).

J. D. S. Pendlebury.
M. B. Money-Coutts.
E. Eccles.

STUDIES IN ATTIC INSCRIPTIONS OF THE FIFTH CENTURY B.C.

(Plates 14–16)

The inscriptions here published or discussed have, some of them, historic interest; which I hope I have not entirely neglected to point out. But this is chiefly a report of my work in the Museum: the reconstruction of *stelai*, the recognising and distinguishing of hands. In the third section, *A Distinctive Attic Hand*, my argument for date is cumulative, and weak as cumulative arguments are: I have no single certain proof that any of the group, still less the whole of it, belongs to the 'thirties. I record it as my cumulative impression; but my main concern has been to distinguish the hand, and to try to formulate a method whereby hands can be, securely, distinguished.

Acknowledgments: first and warmest to M. Kourouniotis, Director of the Epigraphic Museum at Athens and of the excavations at Eleusis. His generosity in placing unpublished stones at my disposal, and his constant encouragement, have been delightful to remember. Next, to Hiller von Gaertringen, whose *I.G.* I² has seldom, during this work, been far from my hand: all students of fifth-century Attic inscriptions will know what I owe him. I have had much help from Dow and Oliver of the American school: Dow indeed taught me to distinguish hands. Meritt's constant and exciting letters, while I was working on the Quota Lists, have made that the most useful section of my paper: I had much help also from West's pupil McGregor of Cincinnati University, who was working on the same subject (see below, p. 110).

The photograph in Pl. 14 is by Herr Wagner of the German Institute: the rest by my wife or myself; roughly, the bad ones by myself, the good ones by my wife. The drawings were made on a tracing table in the American school, and a drawing table in the Clarendon Laboratory at Oxford: my thanks to Mr. Broneer and my colleague Mr. Keeley who gave me these facilities.

A. Rearrangement of the Early Quota Lists.

1. THE 'UNFIXED GROUPS' IN THE *Lapis Primus*.

The great *Lapis Primus* contains the Quota Lists from 454/3 to 440/39. Rebuilt with plaster in the Epigraphic Museum at Athens, it stands about

12 feet high and is composed of over 100 fragments. The relative position of the great majority of these fragments is a matter of absolute certainty, since the stones either actually touch or are connected by horizontal equations [1]: there remain, however, three comparatively small groups whose relation to the main mass of the monument has not been yet exactly determined. Their composition is stated very clearly by Meritt, *A.J.A.* xxxiii 6. Of the four groups which he there distinguishes, Group II is the main mass; Group IV is a single fragment from the foot of the *stele*, and with it I shall not be concerned: I seek to fix the positions of Groups I and III.

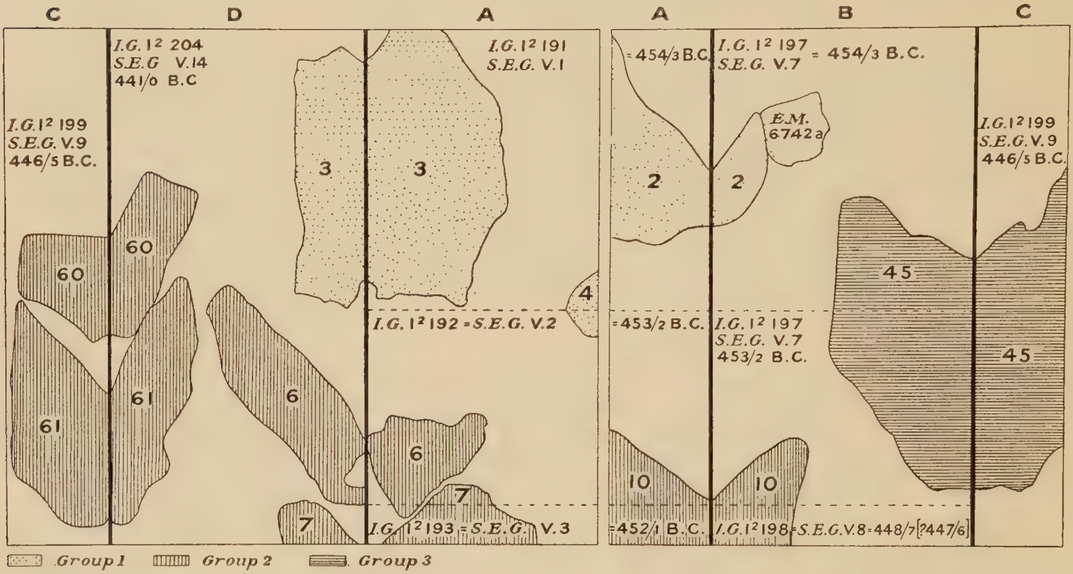
C
D
A
A
B
C
I.G. I^2 199
S.E.G. V.9
446/5 B.C.
I.G. I^2 204
S.E.G V.14
441/0 B.C
I.G. I^2 191
S.E.G. V.1
60
60
61
61
3
3
6
6
7
7
4
I.G. I^2 192 = S.E.G. V.2
I.G. I^2 193 = S.E.G. V.3
= 454/3 B.C.
I.G. I^2 197
S.E.G. V.7
= 454/3 B.C.
E.M. 6742 a
2
2
I.G. I^2 199
S.E.G. V.9
446/5 B.C.
45
45
= 453/2 B.C.
I.G. I^2 197
S.E.G. V.7
453/2 B.C.
10
10
=452/1 B.C.
I.G. I^2 198 = S.E.G. V.8 = 448/7 [?447/6]
Group 1
Group 2
Group 3

FIG. 1.—Key Drawing to Pl. 14 shewing the positions of Groups I, II and III. The fragments are denoted by the figures (1, 2, etc.) by which they are denoted in *I.G.* I^1 and *A.J.A.* xxxiii. Frag. 98 (touching frags. 61 and 6) is lost, and therefore omitted in the facsimile. The yearly lists are denoted (i) by their number in *I.G.* I^2, (ii) by their number in *S.E.G.* V, (iii) by their year [note that *I.G.* I^2 197 (= *S.E.G.* V 7), formerly assigned to 448/7, is here divided between 454/3 and 453/2]. A is the front face, B the right-hand side face, C the back face, D the left-hand side face. The drawing shews only the top quarter of the stele; and of that quarter, the full breadth of the side faces, but only the edges of the front and back faces. Thus all the middle portion of face A is omitted. [If Mr. McGregor's reading mentioned on p. 110 is correct, all of Groups I and III must move up two lines.]

---

[1] By 'horizontal equation' I mean the certainty that two stones contain parts of the same horizontal line: for example, the top edge of the *stele*, or the prescript of a list. If such stones belong to groups which also contain part of the vertical margins (and in fact they do in all cases) their relative positions are fixed. See *A.J.A.* xxxiii 4–6.

What these two Groups are can be seen in fig. 1, where I give in facsimile the rearrangement I propose.

Group I is composed of those fragments which contain part of the top margin, and such others as make direct contact with these. It comprises the top of the front face (A) and extends to both side faces (B, D) : on the back face (C) no part of the top margin survives.

Group II is the main mass: we should note that on the back face (C) Group II comes fairly high.

Group III is composed of those fragments from the top of the back face (C) which make no contact with Group II: they cohere among themselves, since they all contain (or make contact with stones which contain) portions of the prescript of *I.G.* I^2 199 (= *S.E.G.* V 9).

2. THE COUNT OF LINES.

These two unfixed Groups have been provisionally fixed (in *S.E.G.* V) by estimating the number of lines likely to be required in the gaps between them and Group II. As we move Group III up or down, we lengthen or shorten the columns in *I.G.* I^2 200 (= *S.E.G.* V 10): the position given in *S.E.G.* V gives columns of 33 lines. It is clear that this must be approximately right, because *S.E.G.* V 9, 10, 11, all belonging to one assessment period, are all inscribed in five columns, and in 9 and 11 the columns are of 33 lines. I have nevertheless lowered Group III by one line, so that the columns in *S.E.G.* V 10 are of 32 lines.

I believe this is justified. In *S.E.G.* V 9 the fifth column has 8 lines vacant at its foot, so that the total of lines in the 5 columns is 157: in *S.E.G.* V 11 the fifth column has 2 lines vacant, so that the total is 163. In *S.E.G.* V 10, likewise, the fifth column has 2 lines vacant: with columns of 32 lines the total is 158. The progression for the three years is :

S.E.G. V 9	(446/5)	157	lines
S.E.G. V 10	(445/4)	158	„
S.E.G. V 11	(444/3)	163	„

which seems reasonable enough. But clearly the alternative progression, 157–163–163, is also reasonable, and my reason for the readjustment will be given in another context.[1] At present I seek only to shew that the readjustment is not *excluded* by the count of lines.

The placing of Group I affects two sets of columns. As we move it up or down, we lengthen or shorten (i) the two columns of the Ionic List of *I.G.* I^2 204 (= *S.E.G.* V 14), (ii) the seven columns of *I.G.* I^2 192 (= *S.E.G.* V 2). The position assumed in *S.E.G.* V gives in (i), columns of 18 lines, and in (ii), columns of 20 lines (but I doubt if this is in fact self-consistent). Lowering Group I considerably, I get 14 lines in (i), and 17 lines in (ii).

---

[1] See below, p. 106.

(i) The Ionic List of *S.E.G.* V 14 thus has 28 lines, which is in fact rather short. In *S.E.G.* V 12 and 13, of the same period, there are 31 lines, and the disparity is a little higher than that, since at least one name (Θερμαιοι εν Ικαροι) is written in two lines in *S.E.G.* V 14, and perhaps others were. In *S.E.G.* V 15, still of the same period, we have 34 lines; but six of these are due to επιφορα, so that the figure for comparison is in fact 28. The figures for the following years (on the badly damaged *Lapis Secundus*) cannot be determined.—In short, the columns in (i) are a little shorter than we should expect: they might certainly be lengthened by one or two lines,[1] so far as the count of lines goes.

(ii) *S.E.G.* V 2 has now 7 columns of 17 lines, with one line short in col. 3 and one extra in col. 4. This gives 119 lines only: in *S.E.G.* V 1 we have about 150 lines, in *S.E.G.* V 3, 151 lines, and in *S.E.G.* V 4, 160 lines. It was to avoid this great disparity that the top margin was set so much higher in *S.E.G.* V than I am now proposing. I propose to remedy it by adding to *S.E.G.* V 2 the 44 lines on the right-hand side face, at present attributed to *S.E.G.* V 7. The numbers of lines will then be :

S.E.G. V 1 (454/3) about 150 lines.
S.E.G. V 2 (453/2) 119 + 44 = 163 lines.
S.E.G. V 3 (452/1) 151 lines.
S.E.G. V 4 (451/0) 160 lines.

So much for the count of lines[2]: the rearrangement proposed is due to quite other considerations.

3. THE NEW FRAGMENT OF *S.E.G.* V 7.

The idea of this rearrangement had been suggested to me on general grounds by Prof. Meritt, before I examined the stones: that examination has, I think, confirmed his theory. While examining what has hitherto passed as the 'prescript' of *S.E.G.* V 7, I was fortunate enough to recognise that it was in the same hand as an unpublished fragment in the Museum (E.M. 6742a: fig. 2): the stones, when tested, were found to make a perfect join. I also made several revisions of the readings of *S.E.G.* V for the extant part of this 'prescript.'

The position of these lines relative to the top margin is certain (see Pl. 14): there was room for 13 lines altogether, and I number the lines accordingly. The reading of line 11 is very uncertain: the other readings of the original fragment

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[1] Yet we shall see, this could not be done without increasing the 453/2 list by 9 or 18 lines, which is not quite easy.—It is possible that the numerous επιφοραι in the Ionic List of *S.E.G.* V 15, though not actual arrears, may yet point to some irregularity in the Ionic province in the year before.

[2] Lines, not names. I do not try to estimate for the cases of two names on a line, or one name in two lines, though both occur. *S.E.G.* V 2 appears to avoid giving 2 lines to a name, but (with *S.E.G.* V 7 added) has a few repetitions.

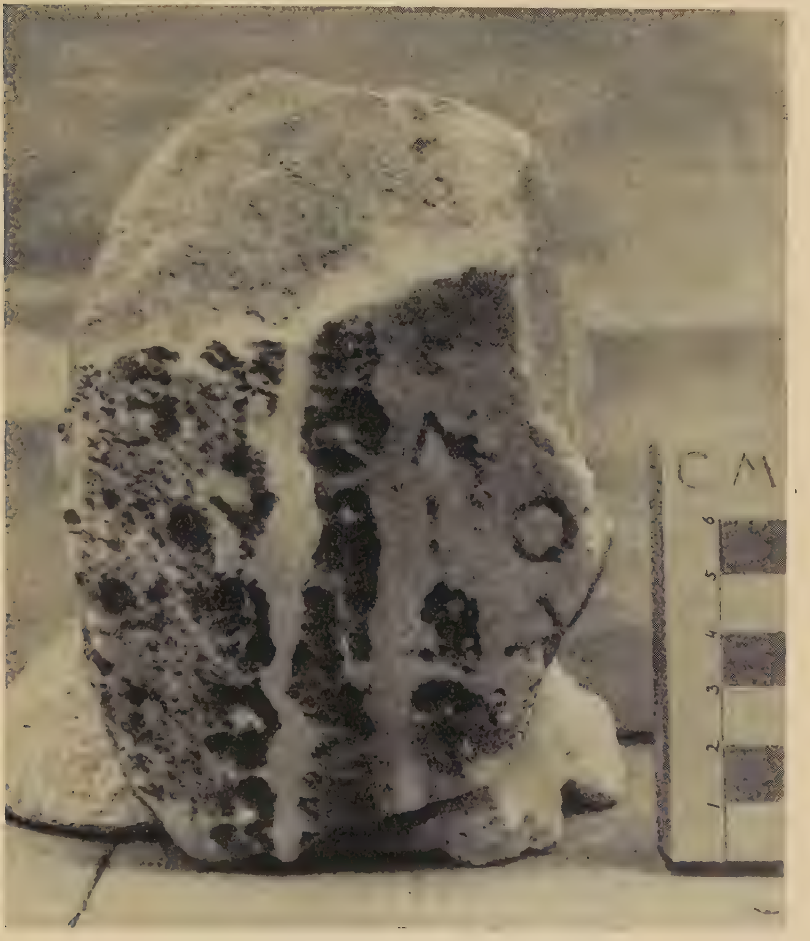

Fig. 2.—New Fragment of Quota Lists (No. 6742a in Epigraphic Museum, Athens).

are pretty sure: for the new fragment, they can be controlled on the photograph in fig. 2. I do not attempt to transcribe the very dubious letter before πιον in line 7.

5 . . . . ε̣
. . . . . α̣ . ε
. . . . π ι ο ν : κ
. . . ρ γ υ ρ ι ο:
. . Χ Χ Η Η Η̣ Δ Δ
10 . ρ υ σ ι ο σ̣ υ μ̣
ε̣ ν̣ ο̣ ν̣ . ρ̣
ε σ κ υ
α̣ *h* ε χ̣

The first 6½ lines are perhaps hardly worth speculation: they may have contained the list of Hellenotamiai. But in 6–7 we have almost certainly to restore :κ[εφαλαιον (*e.g.* χσυμπ|αν) α]ργυριο: . We have, in fact, a summation, first of silver, then of gold: in the last lines we may restore [στατερ]|εσ κυ[ʒικενοι ——κοντ]|α̣ *h*εχ[σ] (or perhaps *h*εκ̣[ται——]). Calculating from the thickness of the *stele*, 0·385 metre, and the lateral spacing of the extant letters (average of 0·018 from centre to centre), I find there was room for 21 letters in the line or perhaps, with a little crowding, for 22.[1] I do not offer any further supplements: the fact that we have a *summation* is certain, and sufficient perhaps for the moment. (I hope indeed others will supply the gaps and perhaps read line 11.)

A summation of what? I know no instance of a summation which precedes the items [2] ; and I do not doubt it is *a summation of S.E.G.* V 1 (*the list of* 454/3),[3] placed on the side face as *e.g.* in *I.G.* I^2 301 B.

The inscriber of 454/3, in fact, conceived that the right-hand side face was available for summations: none of his successors follows him in this. The inscriber of 453/2 conceived indeed of the side face as available (so I hope to shew), but for further columns of names, not for a summation. All subsequent inscribers on the *Lapis Primus* confine themselves to the face on which they write their prescript.

4. THE HORIZONTAL EQUATIONS.[4]

The ' prescript ' of *S.E.G.* V 7 should, then, be attached as *postscript* to *S.E.G.* V 1 (the list of 454/3). There remains the list of names, and I suggest that this must be attached to the list of 453/2 (*S.E.G.* V 2).

The letters agree in shape and size and spacing, especially with the right-hand columns [5] of *S.E.G.* V 2; and the foot of the columns stands level with the foot of *S.E.G.* V 2. In Pl. 14 the head of the columns stands level also; but I must remind the reader that the head of the columns on the front face (A) moves with the movable Group I, that on the side face (B) with the movable Group III. It now therefore remains to justify the fixing of these two unfixed Groups.

---

[1] 21 letters is difficult in line 12: we should have to supply [στατερ]|εσ κυ[ʒικενοι εβδομεκοντ]α, omitting the aspirate. 22 letters would allow *h*εβδομεκοντα or τετταρακοντα.

[2] Nor do I know any reasonable explanation (supposing that the two portions of *S.E.G.* V 7 go together) of the large uninscribed space above columns 2 and 3.

[3] It is interesting to note that some, presumably of the Propontis cities, paid in gold.

[4] See p. 102 note 1.

[5] The left-hand column has used lateral crowding for some names, which changes the general impression; and the letters there seem to me taller than in the right-hand columns, though the vertical spacing is, of course, the same. Distinctive letters are, sloping *nu*, angular *rho* (with the top stroke rather flat), circular *phi*: the lists in *S.E.G.* V 7 have no *phi* but agree in the other letters; and a curious *lambda*, with the diagonal slightly curved, occurs in both *S.E.G.* V 2 and 7 and not (I think) elsewhere. They also both have an unusual ligature for 50 drachmai (in the quotas of Ερινεσ, Αμυνανδεσ, Πελειαται).

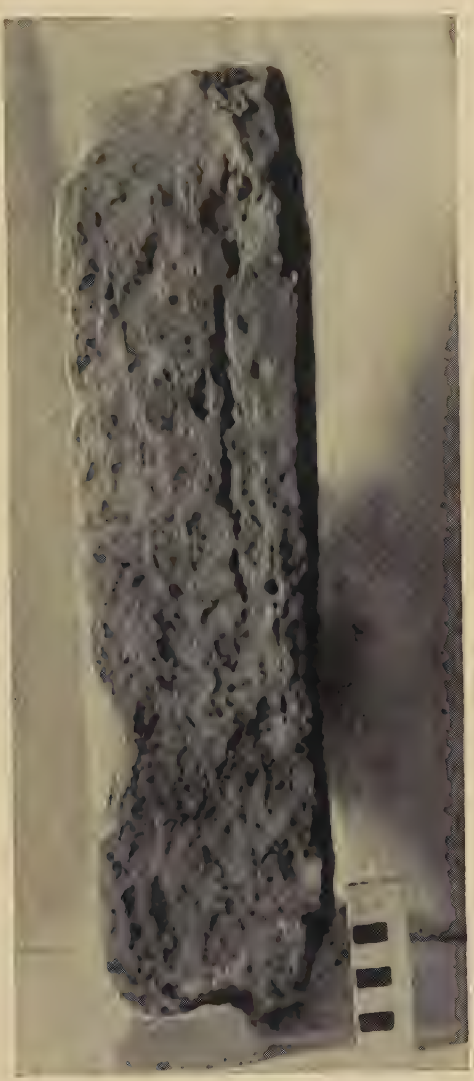

FIG. 3.—FRAG. 3 OF THE *LAPIS PRIMUS*, FACE D.

And especially of Group I. If Group I is rightly placed, then Group III cannot be far out: since the well-preserved uninscribed portion of frag. 45 cannot be moved up more than one line[1] without encroaching on the inscribed summation above it: nor can we move it down, since to move Group III down will further shorten the columns of *S.E.G.* V 10.[1]

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[1] By 'one line' I mean, one line on face B.

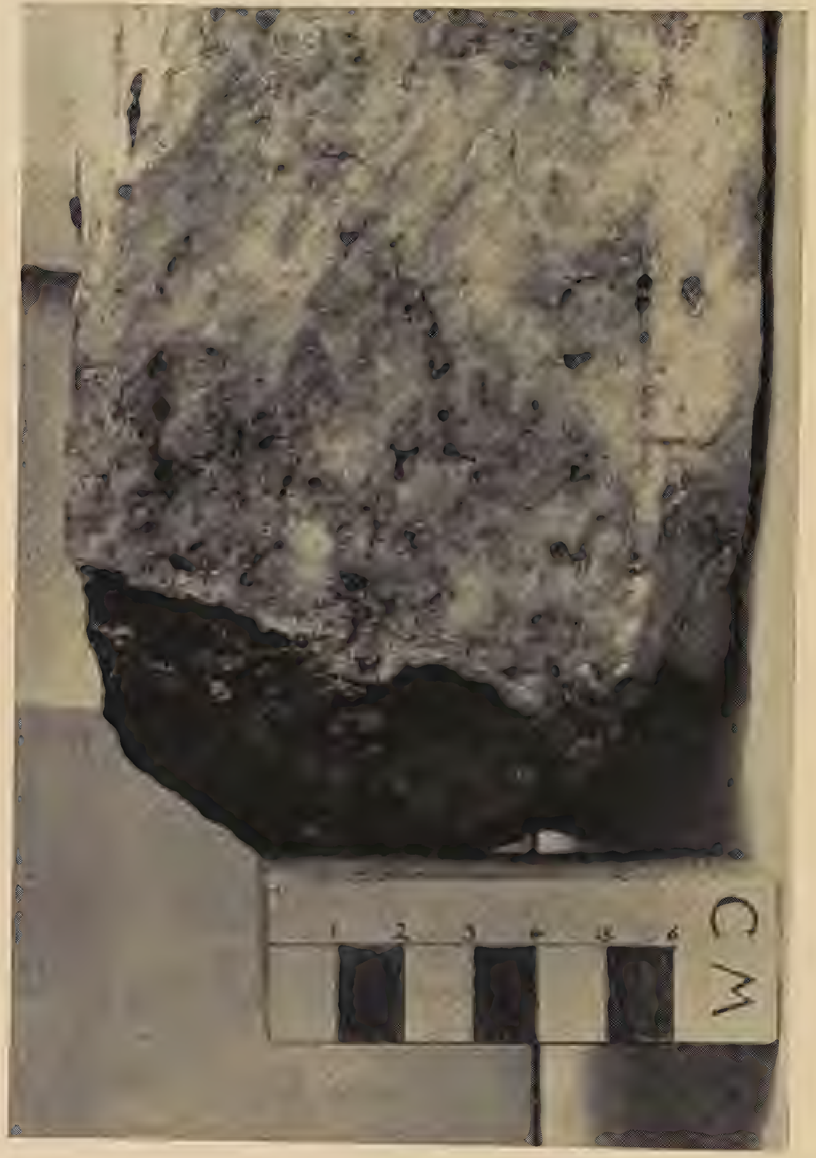

Fig. 4.—Lower Portion of Fig. 3.

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[1] See p. 103. It would have 153 lines only, compared to 157 in *S.E.G.* V 9 and 163 in *S.E.G.* V 11.

It remains possible to move Group III one line up. This would bring the top of the columns of *S.E.G.* V 7 level, not with the top of the columns of *S.E.G.* V 2, but with the prescript of *S.E.G.* V 2. That (see p. 103, middle) would not destroy the proposed unity of the 453/2 list: the inscriber, when he turned the corner, might start his new columns level with the old columns or with the prescript, indifferently.

I turn, therefore, to Group I; and in view of the cardinal nature of this determination I give three photographs (figs. 3, 4 and 5). My belief is that Group I can be tied to Group II by a horizontal equation in *S.E.G.* V 14: that some portion of the heading *h*ελλεσποντιοσ φοροσ occurs in both frag. 60 and frag. 3. Of the letters in frag. 60 there is no doubt, but frag. 3 is almost illegible. Fig. 3 is a photograph of frag. 3 face D: fig. 4 gives in detail the portion of it where the decisive letter appears to me to stand: and in fig. 5 I repeat fig. 4 with the decisive letter (as I see it) blacked in. The letter (if letter it be) is on a larger scale than the letters of the columns, and must belong to the heading *h*ελ[λεσποντιοσ φο]ρ[οσ]. [I have also blacked in the letters as read by Mr. McGregor, see below, p. 110.]

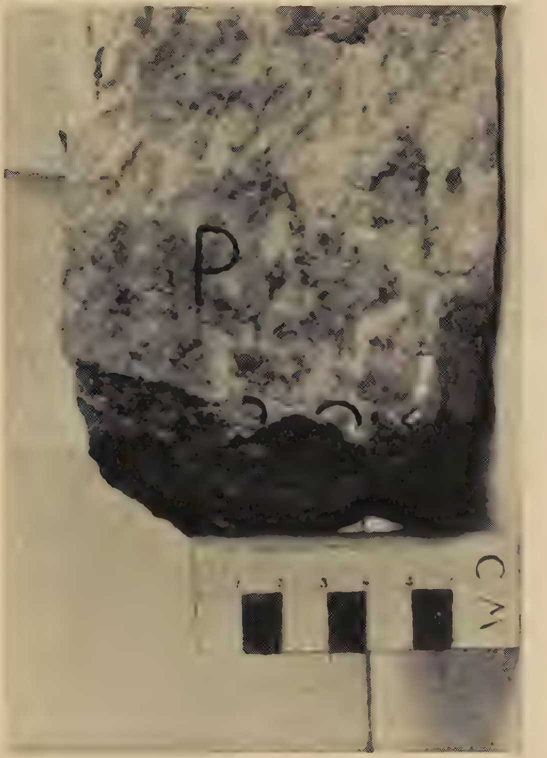

FIG. 5.—LOWER PORTION OF FIG. 3 WITH POSSIBLE LETTER-TRACES BLACKED IN.

I have used this in the facsimile (Pl. 14) as a horizontal equation; but the letter is by no means certain,[1] and the possibility remains that the word φοροσ stood, in fact, higher or lower on the stone and has completely perished (or at least escaped my eye). If this horizontal equation does, in fact, give way, I believe that the columns of *S.E.G.* V 7 must still be assigned to *S.E.G.* V 2, and that any rearrangement must conform to this necessity. Meanwhile I submit my rearrangement as provisional, and based on the evidence I have just set out.

As this was going to press, I heard from Mr. McGregor (of Cincinnati University) that he read the letters ΡΟΣ of φοροσ about 0·035 m. lower than I did. I have only my photographs to judge by, but from them it looks exceedingly probable. I shrink from the heavy labour of redrawing my facsimile, but I have marked the letters as Mr. McGregor reads them in fig. 5, and give here briefly the consequences.[2]

All of Groups I and III must be moved up two lines. The Ionic panel in *S.E.G.* V 14 will now have room for 32 lines, which is more desirable: the columns of *S.E.G.* V 10 will be of 34 lines (total, 168 lines), which is longer than *S.E.G.* V 9 or 11, but in no way impossible. *S.E.G.* V 2 presents a more serious problem. The columns now will be of a normal length of 19 lines: there are 10 columns in all (col. 10 will be still of 10 letters), which suggests a total of about 180 lines. This is very high: the cutter appears never to give two lines to a name, but rather to crowd the letters or contract the name or write the remaining letters vertically. We must apparently assume one of three things:

1. That there were more cities paying in this year than in the year before or the years following.
2. That there were *many* repeated names in this list (we know so far of three, see below).
3. That col. 3, which is certainly one name shorter than the normal, was, in fact, a good deal shorter still.

Perhaps all three are true. I do not think it likely that the list, even as thus lengthened, is complete on the front face (without the 3 side-face columns). It cannot have more than 133 lines on the front face, which is still improbably short.

5. THE LIST OF 453/2.

The list of 453/2 as here arranged has 10 columns of a normal length of 17 lines. Col. 10 has only 10 lines, col. 4 has 18, col. 3 not more (and perhaps less) than 16: a total of about 163 lines (if McGregor's reading, just recorded, be right, the columns are longer by 2 lines and the total about 181).

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[1] Of the decisive letter (the Ρ of φοροσ) I believe the *upright stroke* is still recognisable as a cut; but the *loop* appears merely as sound surface amongst the corrosion round it, somewhat like the lower letters in frag. 18 of *I.G.* I² 62 (photograph in Meritt and West *Ath. Assessment* fig. 9). My photograph shews the loop more clearly than the upright.

[2] See also Mr. McGregor's own statement on pp. 135–6 below.

There are 2, and possibly 3, names which occur twice (once on the front and once on the side face): Λεφσιμανιοι [1] in col. 1 line 11 and col. 8 line 12: Βουθειεσ in col. 1 line 9 and col. 10 line 4: and possibly Σερμυλιεσ [1] in col. 3 line 2 and col. 9 line 5. These repetitions are contrary to the practice of the first period as hitherto known: note, however, that Λεφσιμανιοι in col. 1 has a quota of 7 dr. 1 ob. as against 25 dr. in 452/1 and 451/0: this, which needed explanation, is now in a measure explained, the balance stood in col. 8. Βουθειεσ has 7 dr. 1 ob. in col. 1. This is approximately the same as in 440/39, the next time the quota is known; but note that in the second period Βουθειεσ are always listed in a special group with Erythrai, and its separate mention here (as also in col. 10) is first-period

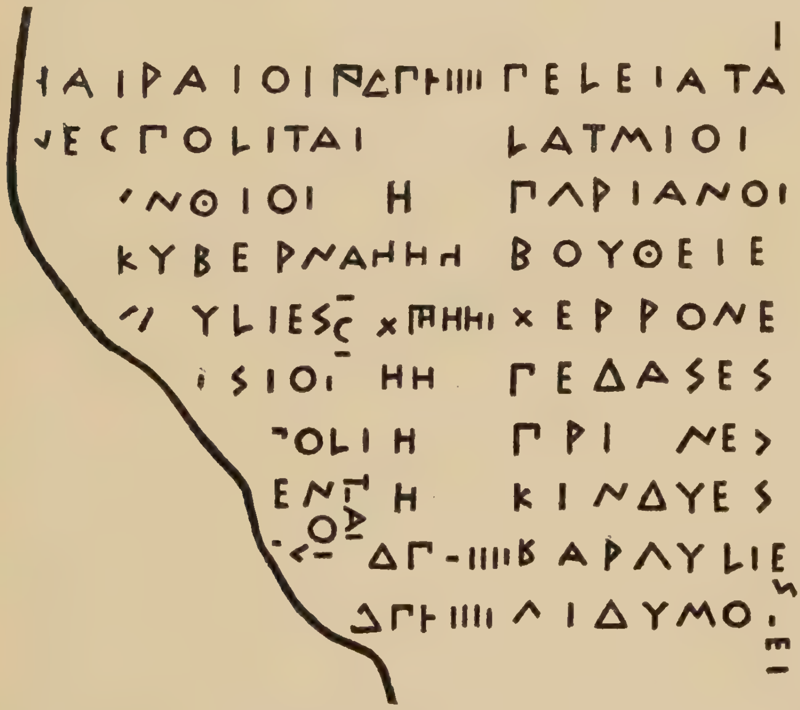

FIG. 6.—FACSIMILE OF PART OF FRAG. 45 OF THE *LAPIS PRIMUS*, FACE B (COLS. 9–10 OF 453/2 B.C.).

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[1] Note that the spellings Λεφσιμανιοι and Σερμυλιεσ, both correct for the first period (*i.e.* 453/2) but incorrect for the second (*i.e.* 448/7), are *certain* in *S.E.G.* V 7 (see fig. 6): although *S.E.G.* V gives (wrongly) the second-period forms Λεφσιμαν[δ]οι and [Σερβ]υλιεσ.

practice. In col. 10 its quota is 300 dr.! This extraordinary figure perhaps represents the remainder of the Erythrean syntely. [Σερμυλ]ιε[σ], if rightly restored in col. 3, have a quota of something under 500 dr. as against 772 dr. in 454/3: we may suppose that here too the balance stood in col. 9.

These repetitions, then, though a new feature for the first period, have their explanations.

A few new readings in cols. 9–10 are shewn in fig. 6 (a larger-scale copy of this portion of the facsimile). The only ones of importance beyond those mentioned in note 1 p. 111 above are in the last three lines of col. 9. Read there:

[Δικαιο]πολι|ται
[Κλαζομ]ενι|οι
[. . . . . .]εσ

The first *iota* in Κλαζομενιοι stands between the τ and α of Δικαιοπολιται.

6. CONCLUSIONS.

There were only 7 lists on faces A and B of the *Lapis Primus*, since *S.E.G.* V 7 as a separate list has now melted away. *S.E.G.* V 9, the list at the top of face C, is certainly of the ninth year (portion of the numeral ενατεσ survives); and it can hardly be supposed that another list stood above that, though, in fact, it is not quite at the top of the *stele*. There is, in fact, one list missing. Which?

It is certain that *S.E.G.* V 1–5 represent years 1–5 (*i.e.* 454/3–450/49): the numerals survive. *S.E.G.* V 6 was never dated (except by the secretary's name), the date of *S.E.G.* V 8 is now lost. These two lists, as is notorious, are largely identical: the intrusion of *S.E.G.* V 7 between them has long been a difficulty, now at last removed: it is natural to suppose they belong to successive years. But are they of 449/8 and 448/7, or of 448/7 and 447/6? Is, in fact, the missing year 449/8 or 447/6?

This is hardly the place to answer that question. The fact that the missing numeral in the prescript of *S.E.G.* V 8 is rather more easily[1] restored as *h*εβδομεσ than (as at present) ογδοεσ, does not help us: it is possible (and I personally think it probable) that *S.E.G.* V 6 (with ≤) is later than *S.E.G.* V 8 (with ϟ).[2] However, *S.E.G.* V 7, which Nesselhauf (*Klio*, Beiheft xxx, 1933, 26) and I (*J.H.S.* lii 217 note 47) agreed in regarding as something portentous, seems to have disappeared: instead, we have a blank year. I would propose to put that blank year in 449/8: *S.E.G.* V 8 in 448/7, and *S.E.G.* V 6 in 447/6. The peace of Kallias[3] will thus fall in the winter of 450/49.

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[1] Hεβδομεσ fits the *stoichedon* order.

[2] The evidence of the *sigma* is not conclusive. I note here that the prescript of *S.E.G.* V 2 has a quite certain 4-bar *sigma* (see the facsimile), though the list of names has the 3-bar form; and there is an exactly similar mixture from the same year in *I.G.* I^2 20.

[3] See G. Lombardo *Cimone* (Rome, 1934) 127 f. and 142 note 7: *J.H.S.* lii 223.

I note further that the payment of 18 tal. by Χερρονεσιται in 448/7 (*S.E.G.* V 7) is no longer valid: this payment now belongs to 453/2. The *terminus a quo* for the Chersonese cleruchy is therefore either 450/49, *S.E.G.* V 5 col. 5 line 12 (1384 dr. quota) or even 452/1, *S.E.G.* V 3 col. 2 line 31 (1800 dr. quota = 18 tal. tribute).

B. THE CHARTER OF THE DEMOCRACY, 410 B.C.—*I.G.* I² 114.

I. LENGTH OF LINE, AND NEW FRAGMENTS.

In *Cl.Qu.* xxiv (1930) 116–118, I published some new readings of *I.G.* I² 114, but my determination of the length of the lines was false. It was based on a false observation (an imaginary ΥΤ on the bottom edge of the larger fragment) which I may perhaps be permitted now simply to disregard. Pl. 15 is a photograph, and Pl. 16 a facsimile, of the four pieces which can now be assigned to that document, in the places which I believe they should occupy.

The correct length of line is 66 letters. The facts for determining this length were before me when I wrote in 1930, though I missed the inference. The determining letters were read by Koehler and published in 1873 by Kirchhoff in *I.G.* I¹: they are ΟΤΟ (I now can read ΕΜΟΤΟ) near the end of line 40,[1] and ΝΤΟΣ near the beginning of line 41: they belong to the constant phrase [ανευ το δ]εμο το [Αθεναιον πλεθυο]ντοσ. One further fact, unknown to Kirchhoff, was needed before the inference as to line-length could be drawn: namely, that the two main fragments (*a* and *b*) could be placed in contact (since ΟΤΟ stands on *a* and ΝΤΟΣ on *b*). This was determined many years ago by Lolling, though not published [2] either then or in *I.G.* I².

It thus became certain that line 40 at least was of 66 letters. The document is in strict *stoichedon* order, so that all lines are probably [3] of the same length. Moreover, since *a* has preserved the right-hand edge of the stone, it could be calculated that there was room in line 40 for another 12 letters after ΟΤΟ, *sc.* [Αθεναιον πλεθ].

Further evidence as to the exact width of the stone was supplied by a new fragment (*c*, see fig. 7) [4] assigned to this stone by Wilhelm in *S.E.G.*

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[1] Line 41 in *I.G.* I¹. But I use my own line numbers (as attached to Pls. 15, 16, and the transcription on pp. 120–1), since some of the vertical intervals were wrongly transcribed in *I.G.* I¹ and consequently the line numbers are wrong in both editions of *I.G.*

[2] The relative position of the two main fragments, which they have, in fact, occupied in the Museum since Lolling's time, was first *published* (I believe) in *Cl.Qu.* xxiv 116.

[3] A variation of one letter, caused by irregularity of the right-hand margin, is always possible: in this case, a variation between 66 and 67.

[4] Wrongly published previously as *I.G.* I² 49*c*. The other fragment which Wilhelm *ibid.* ascribes to our document does not belong: it is correctly published in *I.G.* I² as 97*c*. The spacing of the letters is distinct from that of our document and identical with that of

III 8: this contains portion of the left-hand edge of the stone, and shows that a narrow margin, of about the width occupied by one letter, was left uninscribed at the beginning of each line.

Was there a similar uninscribed margin at the right-hand edge? Was, in fact, the break between lines 40 and 41 to be conceived as [πλεθ|υο]ντοϲ or [πλε|θυο]ντοϲ? The whole right-hand half of *a* is too badly weathered to give any evidence; but the discovery among the unpublished fragments of a small new piece of the right-hand edge (*d*, see fig. 8) settled that question. The letters are weathered, but there is no mistaking whether they

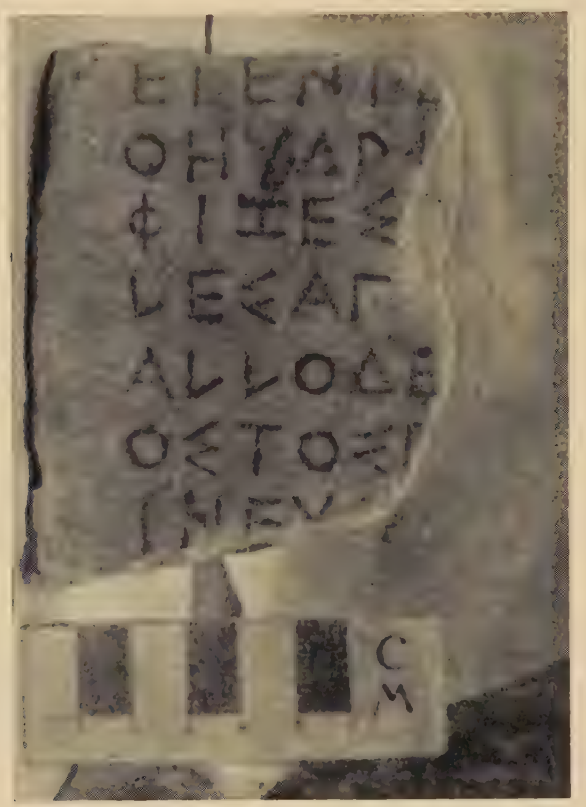

Fig. 7.—*I.G.* I² 49c, assigned by Wilhelm to *I.G.* I² 114 (Frag. *c*).

I.G. I² 97 (identical also with 71; but, as between these two, the character of the Σ is decisive for 97). The spacing in our document is: vertical 0·0136 m., lateral 0·0105 m.: the same as in *I.G.* I² 98/99, though the letter forms here (especially the *phi*) are different from ours. I know no other example of this spacing. For the system of measurement, see below, p. 123, note 1.

are there or not: there *is* an uninscribed margin, similar to the margin at the left edge, and the width of the stone can be calculated at 0·725 m. This is, in fact, the width of *I.G.* I^2 115, and was presumably a standard width.[1]

The value of this determination was that *c* could now be placed in its exact position vertically: its left edge is preserved, and the position of the left edge relative to the remainder was now known. And this in turn enabled me (by trial and error) to place it absolutely in the position it now occupies (Pls. 15 and 16): though I do not claim absolute certainty.

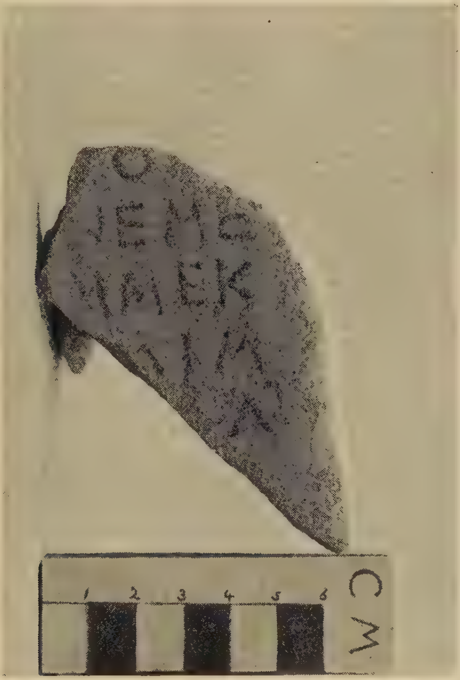

Fig. 8.—New Fragment of *I.G.* I^2 114 (Frag. *d*).

Indeed, though each of the newly-placed fragments (*c* and *d*) makes what appears to be direct contact with the main pieces, in neither case do they lock as unmistakably as one could wish. I take *d* first, which I believe makes contact with *a*. But the broken surface of the main piece has evidently been long exposed not only to weather but to wear: the sharp angle between the broken surface and the original surface has been smoothed right away. Yet I am fairly certain of this join. There is a large, if rather featureless, area of contact. Fig. 9 shews the two pieces in position before being plastered: *a* is so much worse weathered along the right margin that it looks as if *d* stood further forward, but it does not in fact. The two pieces (as placed in fig. 9, and as subsequently plastered and rephotographed in Pl. 15) are, in fact, exactly aligned.

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[1] This removes, I think, any lingering doubts whether the last letter space in line 40 might not have been (exceptionally) inscribed. See note 3, p. 113; and for examples of irregular right-hand margins, Pl. XI–XIII and XVII in Meritt's *Ath. Fin. Doc.* (In Pl. XVII there is a variation of *two* letters: lines 5, 7, 8, 19, are one longer, 6, 33, 34, are one shorter, than the normal, 17, 18, 20–22, 28–32, 55–62.)

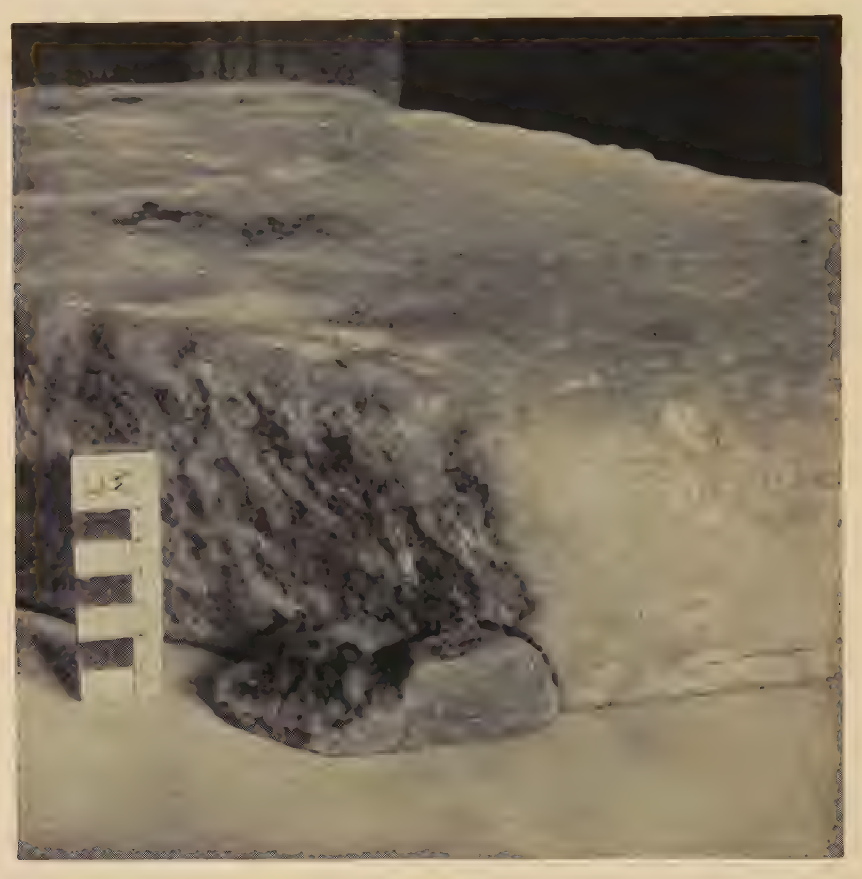

Fig. 9.—*I.G.* I^2 114 (Frags. *a* and *b*), Face Downwards.

Fragment *c* is less securely placed. To plaster it, I placed it in position with the inscribed surface upwards, and then laid a weighted straight-edge along the surface of it and of *b*: I then took away all support from below *c*, leaving it suspended in air, and found that the straight-edge alone held it firmly in position. This left no doubt that the stone, as placed, was in actual and firm contact (my diagram, fig. 10, is merely schematic, and rather understates the area of contact). And this brings it so true to the margin, to the horizontal lines of letters and to the vertical *stoichoi*, that the join may rank as very probable. The first line is misread [1] in *I.G.* I² 49*c*: it should be ΕΙΕΝΤΕ, and this fits sufficiently well with what follows (—ει εν τε[ι] εκκλεσιαι τες—).

But, in fact, the two new pieces have not provided me (though I hope they may provide others) with any important new possibilities of restoration: I use them as evidence chiefly of the relation of the outside letters to the edge of the stone, and this evidence is quite independent of the contacts I have sought to determine.

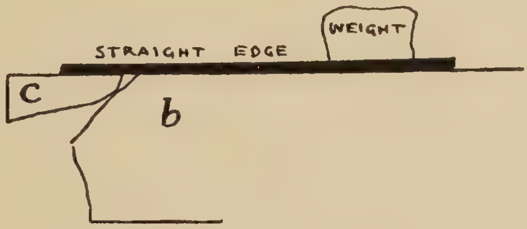

FIG. 10.—DIAGRAM OF *I.G.* I² 114 (FRAGS. *b* AND *c*).

2. THE BOULEUTIC OATH.

Lines 27–28 contain part of the formula of an oath; which, since it concerns τὸ ἐπιψηφίζειν, can hardly be other than the Bouleutic oath,[2] sworn yearly by the members of the Boule. The general context (*e.g.* lines 20, 30–33) confirms this. Did the complete formula (such as we have for the Heliastai in Dem. xxiv 149–151) stand here? How many lines did the formula (such as it was) occupy?

An oath formula can be recognised by the verbs in the first person singular, and by the negative οὐ (rather than μή). It is thus likely that the formula is finished by line 29 ([μετε]—μετε), *i.e.* lines 27–28 contain the last clauses. Where does it begin? Traces are hard to find among the few letters which survive: possibly ουκ in line 26 and [?επιβαλ]ο ζεμιαν in 23: nothing earlier. Yet the Heliastic oath (Dem. xxiv 149–151) would fill about 15 lines of our stone, and the Bouleutic oath may well have been longer.

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[1] See the photograph (fig. 7). The *iota* stands rather to the left, and a hard escarpment in the marble has not been properly smoothed (there is another flaw in the surface in the space of Υ in the next line): Hiller von Gaertringen has taken the escarpment for the second vertical stroke of a Γ.—There may perhaps have been an interpunct after the *iota*.

[2] Or some part of it.

I therefore collect the extant fragments of the oath (cf. Busolt-Swoboda *Gr. Staatskunde* 1023 note 1). We can then see if any of the known clauses can be recognised from scattered letters; and also consider whether the whole formula, or only a part, is likely to have been inscribed here.

Testimonium. Arist. Ἀθ. Πολ. xxii 2. ἐφ' Ἑρμοκρέοντος ἄρχοντος (*saec.* VI *s. fin.*) τῇ βουλῇ τοῖς πεντακοσίοις τὸν ὅρκον ἐποίησαν ὃν ἔτι καὶ νῦν (*saec.* IV *post med.*) ὀμνύουσιν.

Frag. 1. Xen. *Mem.* I i 18. τὸν βουλευτικὸν ὅρκον ὀμόσας ἐν ᾧ ἦν κατὰ τοὺς νόμους βουλεύσειν (407/6).

Frag. 2. Lysias xxxi 1. ὀμόσας εἰσῆλθον εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον τὰ βέλτιστα [συμ]βουλεύσειν τῇ πόλει. [Dem.] lix 4. ὀμωμοκὼς δὲ τὰ βέλτιστα βουλεύσειν τῷ δημῷ τῷ Ἀθηναίων. Cf. Lysias xxx 10. (Kleophon accuses the Boule of 405/4) φάσκων συνεστάναι καὶ ⟨οὐ⟩ τὰ βέλτιστα βουλεύειν τῇ πόλει.

Frag. 3. Dem. xxiv 144. τοῦ νόμου —— ἐν ᾧ ἔνι οὐδὲ δήσω Ἀθηναίων οὐδένα ὃς ἂν ἐγγυητὰς τρεῖς καθιστῇ τὸ αὐτὸ τέλος τελοῦντας πλὴν ἐάν τις ἐπὶ προδοσίᾳ τῆς πόλεως ἢ ἐπὶ καταλύσει τοῦ δήμου συνιὼν ἁλῷ ἢ τέλος πριάμενος ἢ ἐγγυησάμενος ἢ ἐκλέγων μὴ καταβάλῃ. *Ibid.* 147. αὐτὸ μὲν καθ' αὑτὸ οὐκ ἔστι νόμος τὸ οὐδὲ δήσω Ἀθηναίων οὐδένα, ἐν δὲ τῷ ὅρκῳ τῷ βουλευτικῷ γέγραπται. Cf. Arist. Ἀθ. Πολ. xlv 1. ὁ δὲ δῆμος ἀφείλετο τῆς βουλῆς τὸ θανατοῦν καὶ δεῖν καὶ χρήμασιν ζημιοῦν, καὶ νόμον ἔθετο etc. The date is uncertain, but from Andoc. I 45 it appears that the principle of this clause was already operative in 416/5.

Frag. 4. Lysias xxxi 2. (*circa* 400 B.C.) ἔνεστί τε ἐν τῷ ὅρκῳ ἀποφανεῖν εἴ τίς τινα οἶδε τῶν λαχόντων ἀνεπιτήδειον ὄντα βουλεύειν.

Frag. 5. Philoch. frag. 119 (*F.H.G.*) (cf. *I.G.* I^2 p. 299 lines 20–25). ἐπὶ Γλαυκίππου ἄρχοντος (410/9) καὶ ἡ βουλὴ κατὰ γράμμα τότε πρῶτον ἐκαθέζετο, καὶ ἔτι νῦν ὄμνυσιν ἀπ' ἐκείνου καθεδεῖσθαι ἐν τῷ γράμματι (γραμματείῳ MSS.) ᾧ ἂν λάχωσι. For the purpose of this clause, cf. Plut. *Per.* xi 2, Aristoph. *Eccles.* 297 f.

Frag. 6. Tod, *Selection of Gk. Hist. Inscr.* 67: Athenian Decree enforcing uniformity of money, etc. (Quoted also in *I.G.* I^2 p. 295 lines 6 f., but without the evidence of the Syme fragment, which confirms ορκον.) Lines 11 f.: προϲγραψαι δε προϲ τον ορκ[ον τον τηϲ] βοληϲ τον γραμματεα τον τηϲ [βοληϲ τ]αδι: εαν τιϲ κοπτηι νομιϲ[μα] αργυριο εν τηϲι πο[λεϲι και μ]η χρηται νομ[ιϲμαϲιν τοιϲ Αθηνα]ιων η ϲταθμοιϲ η μετ[ροιϲ αλλα ξενικοιϲ νομιϲμαϲι]ν και μετροιϲ και ϲταθμοιϲ [την τιμωριαν εναι[1] κατα το προτε]ρον ψηφιϲμα ο Κλεαρχ[οϲ ειπεν]. Probable date (see Tod *ibid.*) *circa* 423.

Frag. 7. Xen. *Mem.* I ii 35. βουλεύειν οὐκ ἔξεστιν . . . . . νεωτέροις τριάκοντα ἐτῶν. On the analogy of Dem. xxiv 150, we may infer the clause καὶ γέγονα οὐκ ἔλαττον ἢ τριάκοντα ἔτη *vel simile*.

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[1] Possibly [τιμωρηϲομαι αυτον], or some first person singular, is more suitable to an oath: the text, which I have not ventured to change, was established before the discovery of the Syme fragment, whilst it was still believed that the clause was to be added, not to an oath (ορκον) but to a bill (γνωμην).

Seriora vel Incerta.

[*Frag.* 8.] Andoc. I 91. ἡ δὲ βουλὴ αὖ ἡ ἀεὶ βουλεύουσα τί ὄμνυσι; καὶ οὐ δέξομαι ἔνδειξιν οὐδὲ ἀπαγωγὴν ἕνεκα τῶν πρότερον γεγενημένων πλὴν τῶν φυγόντων. This dates from the amnesty of 403/2, and consequently does not apply to our document.

[*Frag.* 9.] *I.G.* I² 39 lines 3 f. (Tod, *Selection* 42) κατα ταδε τον hορκον ομοσαι Αθεναιον τε̣ν βολεν και τος δικαστας ουκ εχσελο Χαλκιδεας εκ Χαλκιδος κ.τ.λ. I do not transcribe the whole, since this was probably no part of the yearly oath [1]; and in any case it will have lapsed with the revolt of Chalkis in 411.

[*Frag.* 10.] From Thuc. vi 14, viii 67, 2 (compared with Arist. Ἀθ. Πολ. xxix 4), Xen. *Hell.* I vii 15, *Mem.* I i 18, Plat. *Ap.* 32*b*, we may perhaps infer a clause in which the *Bouleutes* swears not to put certain motions to the vote. Compare lines 27–28 of our document, where such a clause may stand. Two of the above passages, however (Thuc. vi 14, Xen. *Mem.* I i 18), suggest that this obligation was held to be implicit in frag. 1.

If frag. 6 was really part of the yearly oath (and the fact seems certain), I think it unlikely that the whole formula was inscribed on our *stele*. This document, unless I misconceive it, was not concerned with imperial, but with constitutional obligations. Perhaps the oath was inscribed *minus* its imperial additions: perhaps indeed we have here only an addition made *ad hoc* in 410/9.[2] Nevertheless, I have thought it worth while to indicate that frag. 3 will, in fact, fit into the few letters surviving in lines 8–9, and a version of frag. 2 (combining the two quoted forms) can perhaps be fitted into the more numerous (if hardly more distinctive) letters of 21–22. Since frag. 2 probably stood early in the oath, it is most unlikely that *both* these fragments can be in place: if frag. 2 is in place, then the inscribed formula probably only covered lines 21–28, and frag. 3 was not inscribed at all.

3. TRANSCRIPT.

The stone is tantalising to read: there are letters in every stage of preservation, down to vanishing point. In the facsimile I have recorded every trace which I have seen or seemed to see (Pl. 16): it has not seemed worth while torturing the resources of type to transcribe them all again here. I therefore transcribe only where I have restorations to offer, and omit indeterminate traces. I have not attempted to indicate the degrees of uncertainty in the recorded letters: a dot signifies doubt, sometimes slight, sometimes very grave indeed (the reader can control this by the facsimile). I wish, therefore, to emphasise that three of the letters in line 8 (λ, τ, τ) are extremely doubtful and need controlling on the stone itself.

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[1] It is to be administered jointly by the *Horkotai* and an embassy coming from Chalkis (lines 16 sqq.). This could hardly be every year; and the aorists ομοσαι (line 3) hορκοσαι (16) ομοσοσιν (19) imply that it is done once for all.

[2] In that case it should probably include frag. 5.

I believe it should be possible to make sense of lines 34, 37, 38, though I have not been able.

Lines 1–6: see facsimile.

7 — 22 — μ̣ . ι̣ . . . [ουδε δεσο Αθεναιον ουδε *h*ενα *h*οσ αν εγγυετασ τ]
[ρεσ καθιστει το αυτο τε]λ̣οσ τ̣[ελον]τ̣[ασ πλεν εαν τισ επι προδοσιαι τεσ πολεοσ ε επι κ]
[αταλυσει το δεμο χσυνι]ον [*h*]α̣[λοι ε τελος πριαμενος ε εγγυεσαμενοσ ε εκλεγον με κατ]
10 [αβαλει] — 12 — ια̣σ̣ — 45 —
11–14: see facsimile.
15: [π]ο[λ]ε̣μ̣ι̣ο̣ν̣
16: [*h*]ο δ̣ε̣μο[σ]
17: [τον δεμον] τ̣ον Α̣θ[εν]α[ι]ο̣[ν]
18: [το δ]ε̣μ̣ο το [Αθεναιον]
19: see facsimile.
20: [? πεντ]ακοσιο
21 — 16 — ν̣ . ιτοισ — 6 — ο̣ . . ο̣ . . ε̣ — 16 — [τα βελτιστα β]ολ̣[ε
[υσο τειδε τει πολει] κ̣α̣ι̣ τοι δεμ̣[οι το] (ι) [Αθεναιον] — 22 — ν ε με
— 10 — [*e.g.* επιβαλ]ο̣ ʒ̣ε̣μιαν — 10 — α — 26 — [*e.g.* εα]μ με κ
— 18 — ι̣ κεκλεμ[ε]ν̣ο . σ — 33 — αι μ
25 [ετα το δεμο το Αθεναιον] πλεθυο[ν]τ̣ο[σ] ε — 34 — λ̣α
— 19 — ι ουκ εβ̣ . . ο̣ — 37 — ι̣
— 11 — [ουκ επιφσ]εφιο εμ [β]ολ̣ει̣ : ο̣υ̣[τ] ε̣[ν ε]κ̣[κλεσιαι]α — 18 — ι̣ . .
— 10 — [εαν δ επιφσ]εφιʒο τ . . ν̣οσ̣ . . . ο̣ — 22 — [δεμ]ο̣σ̣ι̣ον̣ . .
— 12 — [μετε δεμ]οσιον μετε̣ [ιδ]ιον̣ — 27 — ο . π̣ . . .
30 — 19 — βολευεν [τ]ο[σ] πεντ[α]κ̣[οσι]ο̣[σ] — 26 —
— 17 — [πεντ]ακοσι . . δρ̣α[χμ] — 26 — γ̣ — 6 —
32 — 10 — [πεντακοσι]ον δρ[α]χ̣μ[ον] πλεον δε με εναι ο̣ — 16 — ι̣ . ο — 5 —
33: τεν̣ β̣ο̣[λεν]
34: ταδ[ε] εδοχσεν ελ Λυκ̣[ε]ι̣ο[ι] — At the end of the line are traces which could perhaps be restored as [Αντ]ιοχ̣ι̣[σ] or [Πανδ]ιον̣ι̣[σ] ε̣π̣[ρ|υτανευε]; but the π̣ is exceedingly doubtful, and we should expect instead an α, to give α[ν|ευ το δεμο etc.
35: Either: [υτανευε *v* ανευ το δεμο πλεθυ]ο[ντ]οσ ⎫
Or: [ευ το δεμο το Αθεναιον πλεθυ]ο[ντ]οσ ⎭ με εν̣αι πολεμον αρασθα̣[ι : μετε καταλ]υ̣[σ]α[ι] : μετε .
36 . . . . [ανευ το δεμο το Αθεναιον πλε]θυοντοσ με εναι θαν[α]τοι̣ [ʒεμι]ο[σαι] . . . ρ . . ο . . ι̣ ι̣ .
37 — 22 — [ανευ? *or* μετα? το δ]εμο το Αθεναιον πλεθ̣[υο]ν̣τ̣[οσ] — for the rest see facsimile.

38: see facsimile: from the latter portion of this line onwards I give a continuous transcript.

38 κ̣οποσ α[ν] βολεται με̣ . .
— 11 — [εντοσ τ]ριακοντα [ε]μερον επειδ[αν δοχσει: τον δε] δ̣εμον με εν[αι] — 6 —
40 — 7 — [Αθεναιον] μεδε *h*ενι: με̣[τε] βολει μετε ε̣[λιαιαι: ανευ το δ]εμο το [Αθεναιον πλε]
[θυο]ν̣τοσ με εναι θοαν επιβαλεν̣ [Αθε]ναιον μεδε [*h*ενι] — 25 —
. . . ε βολεσιν: ανευ το δεμο το Αθ[εν]αιον πλεθυο[ντοσ με εναι στρατεγεσαι: *h*αιρεσθα]
[ι δε *h*]οποσ αν δοκει [τοι] δ̣εμοι το[ι Α]θεναιον πλε[θυοντι: τασ δε αλλασ αρχασ τασ προσ π]
[ολεμ]ον κατα ταυτα *h*αιρεσθαι: τα χ̣ρεματα τα δε[μοσια απολογισασθαι εν τει εκκλεσ]
45 [ιαι τ]οσ πεντακοσιοσ πριν π̣α̣υεσθαι τεσ αρχ[εσ] — 24 — [τοι δε]
[μοι το]ι Αθεναιον πλεθυοντι *h*οτ[ι] αν βολετα[ι] — 25 — [τον χρ]
[εματο]ν τον δεμοσιον επαναγκεσ εν̣[α]ι τ̣[ε]ι β[ολει] — 23 — [προτο]
[ν *h*ιερ]α̣ δευτερον πρεσβειαν τριτον δεμοσ[ια χρεματα] — 23 —
— 6 — σ̣ προσ τοσ πρυτανεσ και βολε̣[ν?] — 36 —
50 — 7 — ι το πολεμο περι: και τον — 35 — [τα εφϲ]
[εφισμε]να τοι δεμοι εντοσ *h*εχσ[εκοντα εμερον] — 29 —
— 3 — [χσυ]μβαλλεσθαι τεν βολε[ν] — 42 —
— 7 — εκκλεσιαι και ε — 46 —
ει εν τε[ι] εκκλεσιαι τε̣σ̣ [δε] — 43 — [δυ]
55 ο *h*υδρι[α] — 56 — [φσε]
φιζεσ[θαι] — 56 — [βο]
λεσ απ — 61 —
αλλο δε — 58 — [πρ]
οσ τοσ π[ρυτανεσ] — 53 —
60 ιν ευθ̣[υν] — 59 —

I have no further comments on the first 30 lines, except that in line 22 the facsimile shews faint traces of ο where my restoration requires ι in [το(ι) Αθεναιον]: the traces may be deceptive.

32. The new reading πλεον δε με εναι is certain, I believe. This confirms Hiller von Gaertringen's interpretation of 31: the Boule could not inflict a fine of more than 500 drachmai, [Dem.] xlvii 43.

34. ελ Λυκειοι seems inevitable: why a radical-minded Ekklesia should have met outside the walls is hard to see.

35. Here begins the series of clauses demanding the authority of a full Ekklesia for declaring war (35), for the death penalty (36), for inflicting fines (40), for holding military office (?—42–44). It is not easy to see what can have stood at the beginning of 36. Perhaps we should omit το

Αθεναιον in this line, and thus leave room for 15 letters (instead of 5) after μετε in 35.

37. After πλεθυοντος there is no room for με εναι, and I have therefore suggested μετα instead of ανευ at the beginning of the phrase; cf. lines 24–5. This whole clause, lines 37–40, refers (I believe) to the process of law-making (compare line 39 with line 51), with an express veto against making laws which touch the sovranty of the Demos. At the end of 39 and beginning of 40 supply perhaps [αρχεσ σ|τερεσαι].

39–40. Koehler and others read οστ at the beginning of 39 and ιον at the beginning of 40: which justify the supplements here repeated from *I.G.* I^{1} and I^{2}. The probable amount of surface lost since then is indicated in the facsimile by a dotted line.

40. ελιαια has not the aspirate in the two fifth-century inscriptions where it occurs (*I.G.* I^{2} 39^{75}, 63^{14}).

42–44. I restore these lines on the authority of Arist. Ἀθ. Πολ. xliv 4, cf. *Cl.Qu.* xxiv (1930) 28.

44 onwards. Procedure in the Ekklesia.

55. Cf. Xen. *Hell.* I vii 9, Arist. Ἀθ. Πολ. lxiii 2, Hommel *Heliaia* 58.

C. A DISTINCTIVE ATTIC HAND.

I. THE THREE CHISELS.

In many Attic inscriptions,[1] the straight strokes are cut with the chisel's whole blade, in such a way that it is possible to measure the width of blade of the chisel used. In the hand which I wish to examine, three chisels were used, the blades being of the following widths, viz. 0·011 m., 0·009 m., 0·007 m. The cutter is absolutely regular in his use of these three chisels, and I here tabulate his practice:

With the 0·011 chisel: horizontals of ⌶ T: diagonals of A Λ Δ, uprights of B E H I K L P T Φ, and first upright of Π.
With the 0·009 chisel: all strokes of N Σ X: outer strokes of M: horizontals of Δ Π.
With the 0·007 chisel: all strokes of Y: inner strokes of M: horizontals of A E H: diagonals of K L: upright of ⌶, and second upright of Π.

The use of three chisels (it may be noticed that all three are used to make the letter Π) gives great elegance to the letters: we may compare this hand with others which use only two, for example *I.G.* I^{2} 63 (= Tod

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[1] But by no means all: and I fancy one of the first principles of distinction among other hands will be to separate those which are from those which are not. In the British Museum (for instance), No. 6 (= *I.G.* I^{2} 66*a*) certainly is not: No. 5 (= *I.G.* I^{2} 51) lines 9 sqq., probably is. I note incidentally that *I.G.* I^{2} 66*a* has its *right*- and not its *left*-hand margin intact.

Selection of Gk. Hist. Inscr. 66, the assessment of tribute: many photographs in Meritt and West *Athenian Assessment*) and *I.G.* I^2 60 (= Tod *Selection* 63, the cleruchs in Lesbos: photographs in *A.J.A.* xxx 177): the latter seems particularly ungainly in comparison. The hand is extremely regular, and such irregularities as there are (horizontals not quite horizontal, letters off centre, etc.) are very regularly repeated.

I here collect and illustrate all the examples of this hand which I have noticed. In all cases but one, the cutter uses the same spacing, viz. lateral interval 0·013 m., vertical interval 0·018 m.: a fairly common spacing, used by other hands as well.[1]

The larger letters. Figs. 11 and 15 have each a *head-line* written in rather larger letters: these appear to be made with the two larger chisels, and a larger one still (which I have not measured). Thus in fig. 15 line 1 the three strokes of Y are made with the 0·009 chisel, the upright of E with the out-size, the horizontals with the 0·011 chisel. Note, however, that the lowest horizontal is made with the 0·009 chisel: an irregularity which contrasts with the absolute regularity of the normal-sized letters (the larger letters in fig. 15, having the same lateral spacing as the smaller, are rather overcrowded: the irregularity is doubtless due to this fact).

2. THE PRYTANEION DECREE: *I.G.* I^2 77 (Fig. 11).

This is put among the inscriptions of the Archidamian War in *I.G.* I^2, and it may perhaps belong to the earliest years of that war, though from its general content I should rather place it in time of peace. It gives the list of those who are qualified to have meals at the public table in the Prytaneion. I think the proposer's name can be read, not certainly but with some probability, as Perikles.

The name stands immediately after επεστατε in line 3, above ONMENTOI in line 4. Above OI can be read E ≤: the lower part of E and upper part of ≤ can just be made out in my photograph (fig. 11), though they do not shew well; but there is no doubt of them, I think, and they have been read by previous editors.[2] The letter next before them is lost: before that again is a quite certain *kappa* (the lower diagonal, which occurs in no other letter, shews very clearly in the photograph). Before the *kappa*, and standing over E in the line below, is the lower part of *iota* or *upsilon*. The name is . . . υκ . εσ or . . . ικ . εσ . The formal possibilities, I think, are Αμφικλεσ, Βαθυκλεσ, Ευθυκλεσ, Ευρυκλεσ, Περικλεσ: the first

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[1] The vertical spacing is especially common; Dow points out to me that it is quite probably one Attic dactyl (0·0184 m., if the Attic foot was 0·294 m.): and the combined vertical and lateral is not uncommon. I measure, vertically, from base-line to base-line, and where possible 10 letters at once, and then divide by 10: laterally, from centre to centre, also over 10 letters if possible. This reveals certain variations (0·0178 to 0·0187 m., vertically: 0·0130 to 0·0132 m. laterally).

[2] In *I.G.* I^2 they are duly recorded as standing above OI (since one more letter is supplied in each line). The two traces over the εν are also correctly (though not quite completely) recorded; but four spaces are allowed between them and επεστατε instead of three (*i.e.* the spaces over ονμ). This slight error (which results in allowing 46 letters to line 3) can be easily corrected from the photograph in fig. 11.

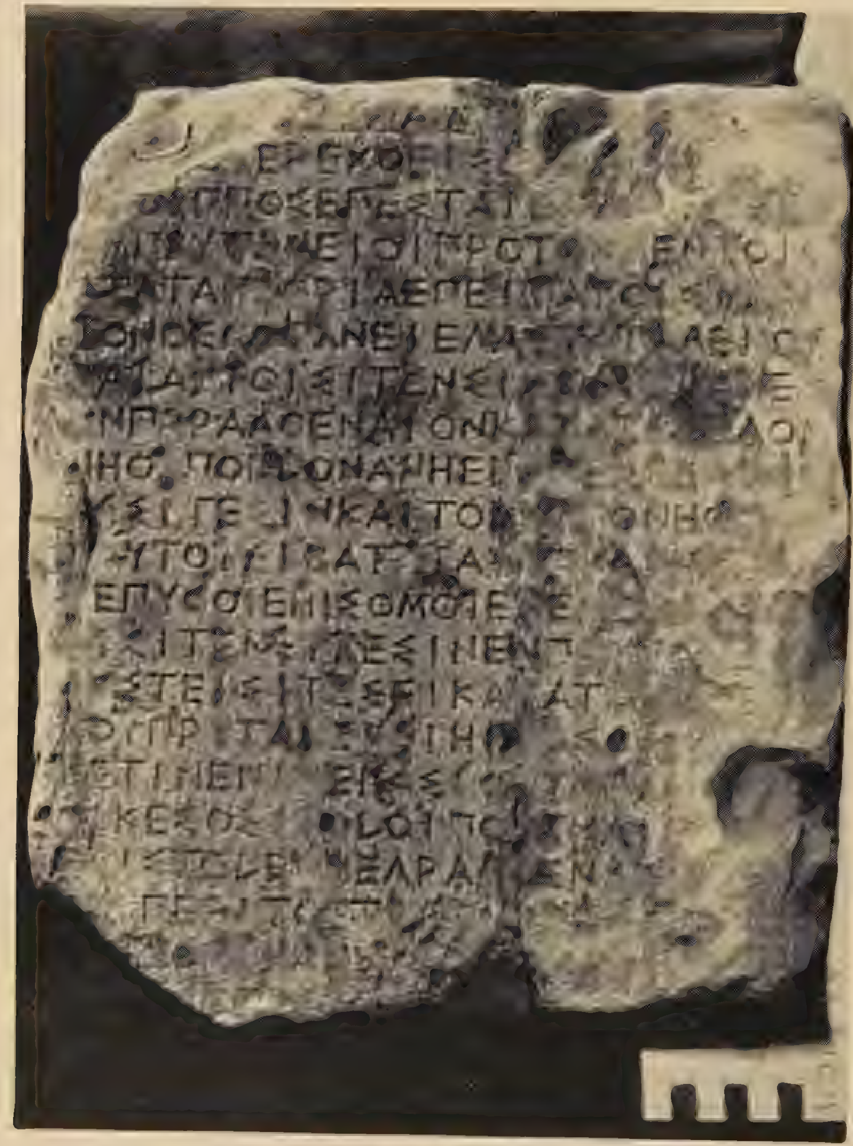

Fig. 11.—*I.G.* I^2 77. [Note the Headline in larger Letters; the Correction in Line 12; and that the Letters are closer spaced than in Figs. 12–16.]

perhaps unlikely, since there seem to be faint traces in the first space of a more or less square letter (*e.g.* E or Ρ; B is not excluded). I would add, that in this extremely regular hand, the tail of Y comes lower than the tail of I, which makes I a better reading here than Y. So I think the name is Perikles; and the august nature of the decree makes this likely.[1]

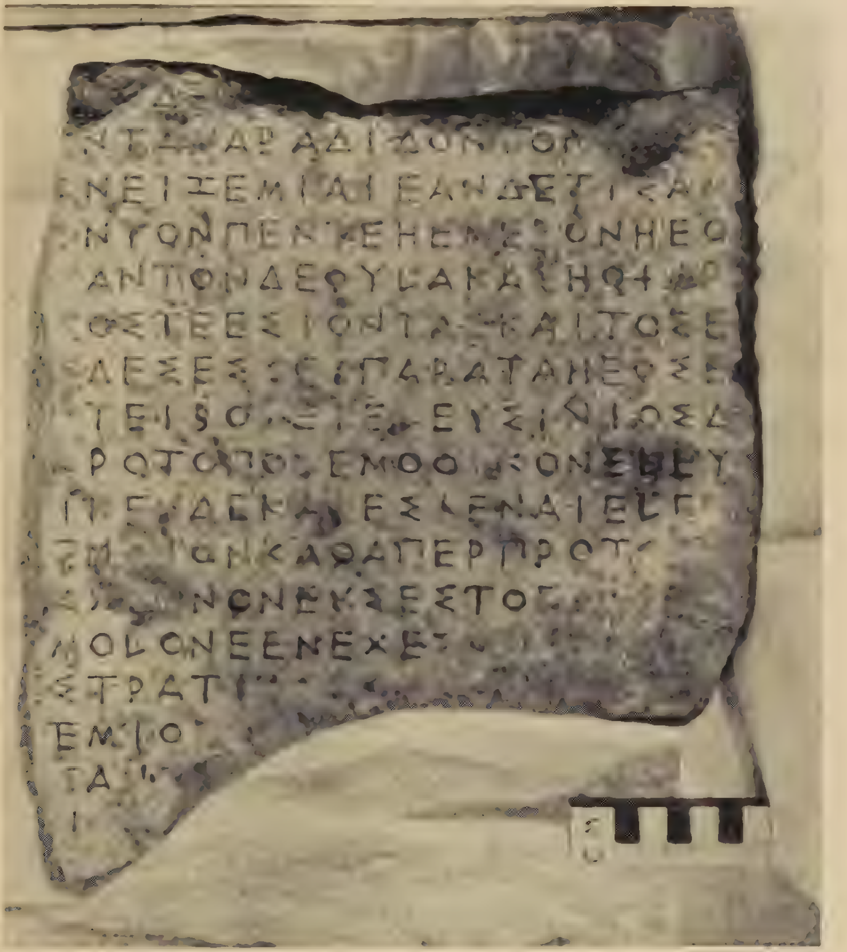

Fig. 12.—Fragment Found at Eleusis in 1928.

I take this occasion to propose one further alteration in the restored text as printed in *I.G.* I^2. According to Schoell's supplements (*Hermes* vi

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[1] The other decrees which can be ascribed to Perikles are, the Congress decree of *c.* 449 (Plut. *Per.* 17), the decree of possibly the same date (*J.H.S.* lii 223) or else 431/0, touching the disposal of 5000 Talents (*Anon. Arg.* lines 5–8, quoted *I.G.* I^2 p. 287), the Franchise decree of 451/0 ('Αθ. Πολ. xxvi 3), and perhaps the Megarian decree (Arist. *Ach.* 532).

36 f.) the privilege is granted to (i) the priests of Demeter and Kore, (ii) the descendants of Harmodios and Aristogeiton (lines 5–9), (iii) the Exegetai (lines 9–11), (iv) the victors in Panhellenic Games (lines 11–17). These have been followed in the main by Hiller von Gaertringen in *I.G.* I², except in line 9, where he prefers a suggestion of Bannier's and writes [κατα τεν μαντειαν *h*ε]ν *h*ο Απολλον αν*h*ελ[εν]. The effect of this is to eliminate the Exegetai, and to refer lines 5–11 to the descendants of Harmodios and Aristogeiton only: their honours are sanctioned by an oracle from Delphi.

I am not sure how the resulting sentence is to be translated: possibly λαβεν in 10 and εναι in 11 are to depend on μαντειαν, and give the substance of the oracle. In any case, the sentence is not elegant and there is a good deal of tautology: and I prefer the following slight modification of Schoell's restoration. The clause about the descendants of Harmodios and Aristogeiton ends with the words κατα τα [δ]εδομ|[ενα] [1]: we then proceed [2]

[και εχσεγετασ *h*οσ νυ]ν *h*ο Απολλον αν*h*ελ[ε]ν̣ [3] ε̣χ[σ]εγομε
10 [νοσ τα πατρια λαβεν παντα]σ σιτεσιν και το λοιπον *h*οσ αν
[αν*h*ελει τεν σιτεσιν εναι] αυτοισι κατα ταυτα

'and the Exegetai, whom Apollo has now appointed [4] by oracle, whilst they expound ancient custom shall all receive maintenance; and for the future whomever he appoints by oracle, maintenance shall be given them likewise.'—The Exegetai did receive maintenance, *e.g.* Lampon (Sch. Arist. *Peace* 1084): I have urged elsewhere (*Cl.Qu.* xxv 87) that the Exegetai of Hellenic date are *all* πυθόχρηστοι.

The general arrangement, then, is: (i) the priests of Demeter and Kore (according to ancient custom); (ii) the nearest kinsman of Harmodios and of Aristogeiton, now and for the future (as the Demos has bestowed): (iii) Ἐξηγηταί πυθόχρηστοι, now and for the future: (iv) victors in the games, now and for the future. The first two have their existing Sanctions, ancient custom and a gift of the Demos. The third and fourth are apparently bestowed by this decree. They suggest peace-time, and Delphi was very hostile to Athens at the outbreak of war (Thuc. i 118, 3; ii 54, 4). If Perikles was the proposer, I think this decree must belong to the early 'thirties.

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[1] Hiller von Gaertringen is certainly right to read τα [δ]εδομ|[ενα]: neither τα [δ]εδογ|[μενα] nor τα [τ]ε νομ|[ιʒομενα] is possible.

[2] Kahrstedt has rightly seen that *h*οσ in line 10 must be accusative plural (cf. αυτοισι in 11), and proposes some part of ἀνελεῖν, *Staatsgebiet und Staatsangehörige in Athen* (1934) 335. He appears to accept the rest of Hiller von Gaertringen's restorations, though I do not know how he gets out of them the meaning which he does.

[3] I believe a trace of this N can be read on the stone.

[4] Νῦν with aorist, cf. *Iliad* III 439; and often.

The beautiful and regular, slightly mechanical, lettering seems to me to suit the taste of that time: compare the magnificent fragment *I.G.* I² 944.[1]

3. THE ELEUSIS FRAGMENTS.

(Figs. 12–14.)

The largest of these fragments (frag. 2) was found in 1928 on the Akropolis at Eleusis (fig. 12: transcript p. 130): it has been published or discussed by Kourouniotis in ‘Ελληνικά ii 5 f., Kougeas *ibid.* 116 f., Palaios in Πολέμων i 174 f., and Kahrstedt in *Gött. Nachr.* 1932, 77 f. All except Palaios refer it to the years following the fall of the Thirty at Athens, between 403 and 400: Palaios refers it to the outbreak of the Archidamian War.

On various grounds (the character of the hand, the alphabet, the possibilities of restoration) I am convinced that Palaios is right. Kahrstedt, latest and liveliest supporter of the later date, has produced an astoundingly ingenious restoration in lines of 36 letters, which yet bears its impossibility upon its face. No Greek sentence, epigraphic or other, ever began with the words εχσεστο και εσοικεν δε (line 10).[2] Kahrstedt rightly says (p. 79) that with lines of 50 or more no restoration can be certain. The more is the pity, since it is extremely probable that the lines were of about that length.

Palaios determined a line of 54 letters from line 8, where he detected the normal formula of amendment, and supplied:

παρα τα *h*εφσε
[φισμενα· Περικλεσ ειπε· τα μεν αλλα καθαπερ] τει βολει, Ελευσινιοσ δ

I find this convincing *per se*, in view of the changed content of the following lines: war measures in lines 1–8, guarantee of certain vested peace-time interests [3] in 9 sqq. I do not, of course, think Perikles' actual name is at all probable; but the determination is not *reine Willkür*; an 8-letter name is, in fact, the average. Further support for a longish line may be found perhaps in the thickness of the stone. This fragment is 0·135 m. thick:

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[1] Casualties [εν Σιν]οπει. I cannot illustrate it, and I know of no photograph. The letters are so magnificent that a squeeze of it should be in every squeeze library.

[2] For possible types of postponement, see Denniston *Gk. Particles* 188. I see no way of avoiding this, with Kahrstedt's 36-letter line. The asyndeta in lines 4 and 12 are not very nice: nor the acc. and inf. after εχϲεϲτο in line 12 (followed by a change of subject); and is not the αυτομολοσ allowed (by implication) great impunity? An αυτομολοσ is ενοχοσ τοισ μεγιστοισ anyhow: the special sanction here must be against someone who abets him. Objection might be taken to εσιεναι Ελευσινι in 10–11 (see p. 84) and 12–13, and to Ελευσινιοσ δ εναι *h*οστισ in 8–9. No doubt some of these could be avoided: *e.g.* we might write Ελευσινιοσ δ εστο for the last (see p. 81); but line 10 is past mending.

[3] [Hοπο *h*εκαστοσ ετυγχανε π]ρο το πολεμο οικον in line 9, καθαπερ προ το [πολεμο] in 11/12.

of the two documents in the same hand which I discuss in the next section, *I.G.* I^2 160 is 0·105 m. thick and has a line of 32 letters, *I.G.* I^2 61 + 169 + 179 is 0·09 m. thick and has a line of 24 letters. No ratio, constant or progressive, can be established between the thickness and width of stelai; but the thickness of ours may suggest a width of well over 40 letters.

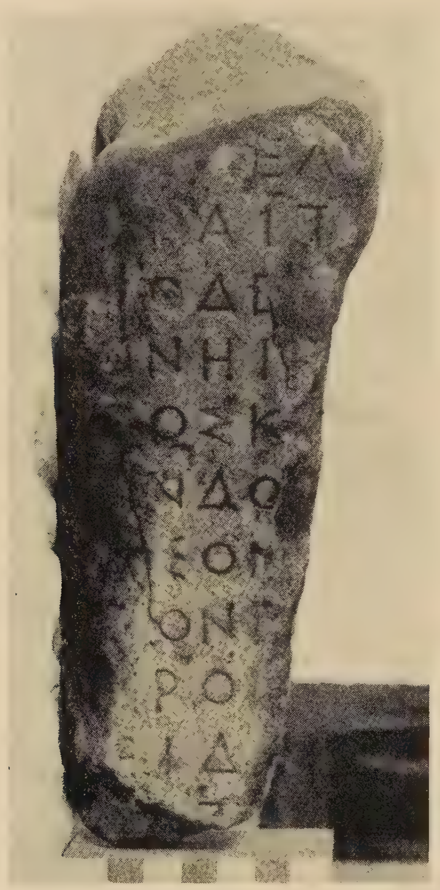

Fig. 13.—Unpublished Fragment from Eleusis.

Further: in the Eleusis museum is an unpublished fragment (fig. 13) in identical script and *of identical thickness.* It has its left-hand margin, and is, I believe, from the top left-hand corner of our stele: the opening lines may be restored thus:

[εδοχσεν τει βολει και τοι δεμοι — 8 ? — επρυτανευε — 5 ? —]
[. . .]εγ[ραμματευε — ειπε —]

Here, if we again supply 8-letter (*i.e.* average length) names, we get a line of 49 letters. I do not suppose we can get nearer than this: the line is of *about* 50 letters.

There is one more piece which may belong. *I.G.* I² 185 (fig. 14), likewise with left margin, is likewise in the Eleusis museum. At present, it is only ·045 m. thick; and has no break, but a worked surface, at the back.

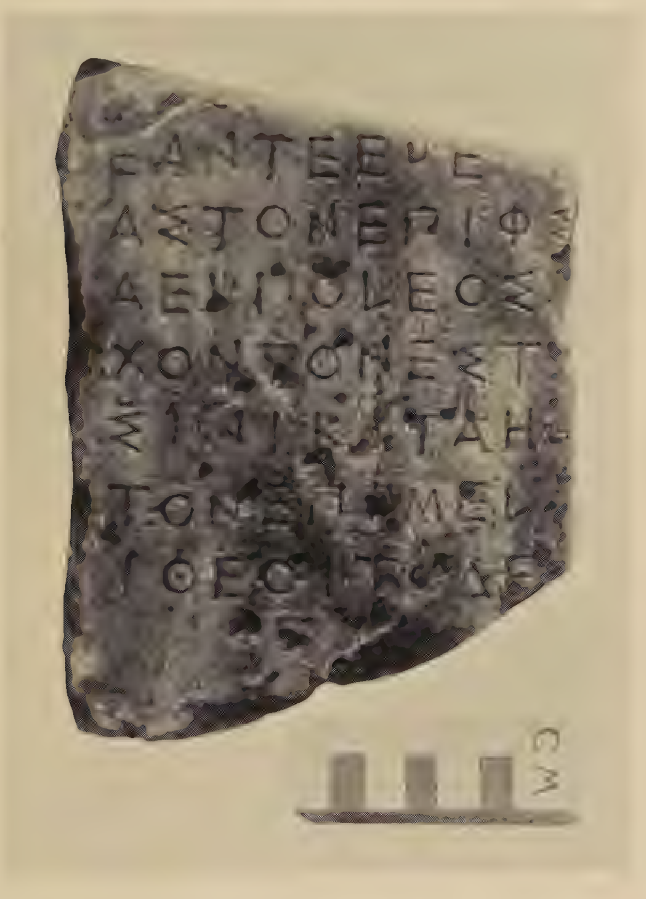

FIG. 14.—*I.G.* I² 185 (ELEUSIS MUSEUM).

Yet I believe this back surface is not ancient; the stone has undoubtedly been used for building; the diagonal line at the top is not a break but a cut with a worked surface, and that, of course, cannot be ancient: it is, besides, most exceptional for a fifth-century stone to be cut (originally) as thin as this one is now. There is thus no evidence of the original thickness. The lettering and spacing may be called identical; especially characteristic is the Φ in line 3, compared with those in lines 5 and 7 of the large fragment. I therefore assign this, also, to the same document, though with less certainty than fig. 13.

I should note that the rather steep *lambda* in line 7 does not otherwise occur in our hand, the one in line 4 being normal. This irregularity in itself may be held to constitute a difference.[1] Also the vertical spacing, though identical to less than a millimetre, is not quite identical: such minute variations are not uncommon within one document. The distance of the first *stoichos* from the left margin is identical with that in fig. 13: the lateral interval between letters is identical.

I suggest, *exempli gratia*, the following restorations with 50 letters to the line: both in principle and detail I am much indebted to Palaios' 54-letter restorations:—

Frag. 1 (= fig. 13). στ. 50.
[εδοχσεν τει βολει και τοι δεμοι — 9 — επρυτανευε — 5 —]
. . . εγ[ραμματευε — *c.* 8 — επεστατε — *c.* 9 — ειπε *e.g.* παραδιδ]
[*e.g.* ο]ν̣αι τ[οισ? — 42 —]
. οδε [— 45 — τ]
5 ον *h*ι[εροποιον? — 38 —]
τ̣οσ κ — 46 —
. ν̣δο — 46 —
. σον — 46 —
. ονε [— 44 — *h*ι]
10 ε̣ροπ̣[οιο — 43 —]
ειδ — 47 —
. . τ — 47 —

Frag. 2 (= fig. 12).
— 33 — δε — 15 —
— 27 — [*h*απα]ντα παραδιδοντον τ[οι]σ
[ιεροποιοισ? ε ενεχεσθον τει γεγρ̣αμμε]νει ʒεμιαι εαν δε τισ αμ
[φισβετει *h*ατε εδε παραδεδοκοσ εσαγ]οντον πεντε *h*εμερον *h*εο
5 [σ αν παντεσ παραδεδοκοτεσ οσι καθιστ]αντον δε φυλακασ *h*οι αρ
[χοντεσ? (*or* χιτεκτονεσ?) — 13? (*or* 9?) — *h*οι τερεσοσι] τοσ τε εσιοντασ
και τοσ̣ ε
[χσιοντασ και φυλαχσονται *h*οποσ αν με]δεσ εσιει παρα τα *h*εφσε
[φισμενα . . . . ειπε τα μεν αλλα καθαπερ] τει βολει Ελευσινιοσ δ
[οικεν εασαι *h*οπο *h*εκαστοσ ετυγχανε π]ρο το πολεμο οικον Ελευ
10 [σινι — 25 — ο]ικεν δε και εσιεναι Ελ[ευ]
[σιναδε εχσεστο τοι μεν βολομενοι Αθ]εναιον καθαπερ προ το [πο]

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[1] For a further example of this irregularity, compare the placing of the letters ΤΟΣ in lines 3 and 7. Note too the rather steep Χ in line 5: cf. line 13 of the large fragment, and line 2 of fig. 11. Many, indeed most, of these observations I owe to Mr. Meiggs in Oxford and Mr. Dow in Athens.

[λεμο — 9 — με΄ δεχεσθαι δε μεδεν]α χσενον εχσεστο ε — 5 —
[— *c.* 11 — μετε — *c.* 11 — αυτο]μολον ε ενεχεσ[θαι — 5 —]
[— 27 — τα]σ̣ στρατιασ τ̣α̣σ̣ — 9 —
15 [— 27 — πολ]εμιο — 16 —
— 30 — σαντ̣ — 16 —
— 30 — *h* — 19 —

Frag. 3 (= fig. 14).
. . ο — 47 —
εαν τε ερενε[ν βολονται ποεσθαι ? — 24 —]
αστον επιφσ[εφι — 37 —]
α εκ πολεοσ σ̣ [— 38 — αρ]
5 χοντον εστο [— 36 — Ελευ]
σινι κατα *h*ο[ρκοσ ? — 25 — τουτον δε παν]
τον επιμελε[θεντον Ζευσ και Αθεναια και Δεμετερ και *h*οι αλλο]
ι θεοι το δε[μο το Αθεναιον *vacat*]
vacat

Frag. 2 line 4: or αμ|[φισβετει φασκον εδε δεδοκεναι (or αποδεδοκεναι) εσαγ]οντον.

Frag. 3 line 2: the reading is certain: cf. *I.G.* I² 96 line 12.

Frag. 3 line 7: for ἐπιμέλεια as a divine function, see Antiphon *Third Tetralogy* II 8: for the imperative, compare such phrases as *h*ιλαοσ εστο (*e.g.* the Lokrian law *S.B. Berl.* 1927 V p. 8 line 16). The supplement is, of course, most uncertain.

4. KORINTHIOS, AND THE SIKAN.

(Figs. 15–16.)

In this same distinctive hand, and with the same spacing, are two other inscriptions in the Epigraphic Museum at Athens: *I.G.* I² 160, and *I.G.* I² 61 + 169 + 179.

I.G. I² 160 (fig. 15) cannot be at all closely dated: Wilhelm has demonstrated that 'Korinthios' is a person's name, who presumably was not a Korinthian, but belonged to a family at some time friendly to Korinth in some other city. Cf. Kimon's son Lakedaimonios, Perikleidas' son Athenaios (Thuc. i 45, iv 119, cf. Arist. *Lys.* 1138).

I.G. I² 61 + 169 + 179 (fig. 16). That these three fragments go together has, I believe, been already determined by Wilhelm: the fact is indeed noted by him in the Museum copy of *I.G.* I² for 61 and 179: against 169 there is also a note in his writing which I could not understand. There is no actual contact, but 61 and 169 appear to give a horizontal equation.[1]

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[1] See p. 102 note 1. The equation looks good when the stones are put in their places: it brings the fractures (at the top of 61 and foot of 169) in a good line with each other.

These two, 61 and 169, have also (in *I.G.* I²) been largely restored with lines of the same length, 24 letters.

The two lines in 61 which have been restored with 25 letters should, for this reason, be modified: in so fine a hand and so short a line, an extra letter is very improbable.[1] I have had to make further slight modifications: in 169 line 4 (= my line 12) the reading ΙLΙ (not ΝLΙ) is certain, so that the restoration in *I.G.* I² is impossible: in 61 line 2 (= my line 18) επαινεσαι seems to be excluded by the

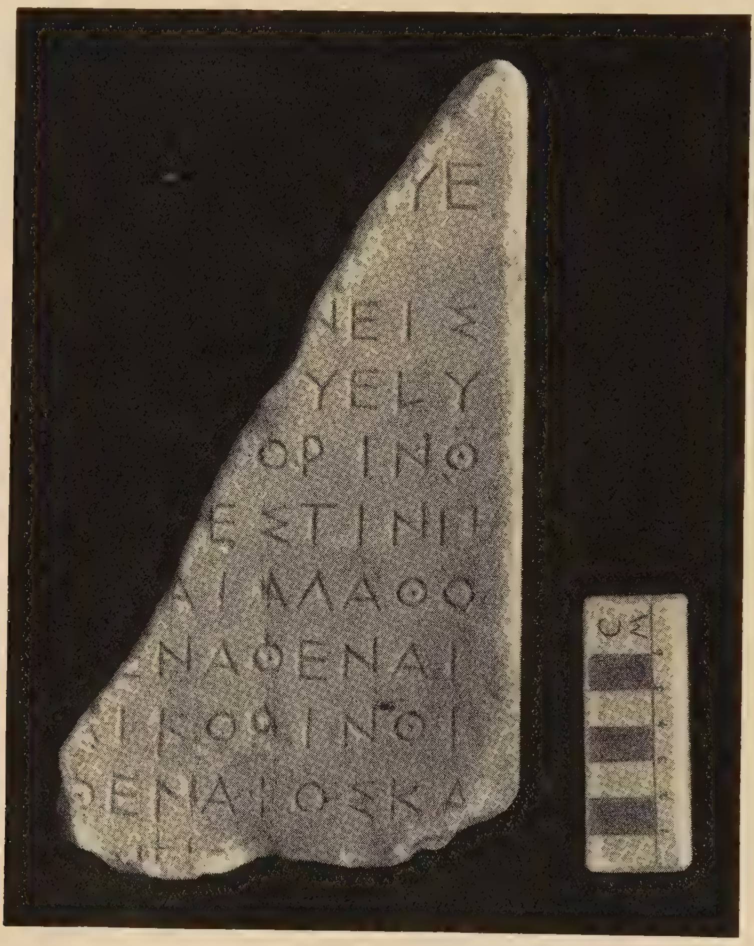

FIG. 15.—*I.G.* I² 160. [NOTE THE HEADLINE IN LARGER LETTERS.]

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[1] There is an extra letter in *I.G.* I² 77 (= fig. 11) line 12. I think there has been an erasure here (the surface is badly gone, and was gone before ΜΟΙ was inscribed). What was written before? Just ΙΣ⊙ΜΟΙ without Η? It was a very elaborate correction for so slight a matter (the crowding begins with Ι of ΠΥ⊙ΟΙ).

absence of (and absence of room for) any of the usual formulas, *h*οσ οντι ανδρι αγαθοι etc.; and in the last line of 61 there was almost certainly a letter beginning with a vertical stroke, after εμον. In lines 1–2 of 61 (= my 17–18) I have preferred Kirchner's suggestion to Hiller von Gaertringen's, because the (new) context favours it.

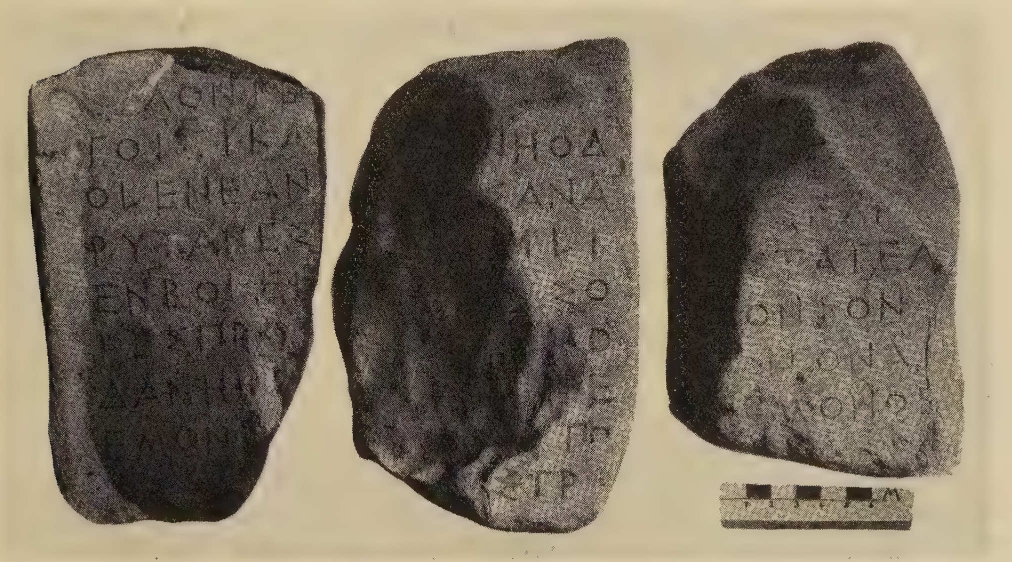

FIG. 16.—*I.G.* I^2 61 + 169 + 179.

I.G. I^2 179 [εδοχσεν τει βολει και τοι δεμ] στ. 24
[οι Κεκ]ρ̣ο[πισ επρυτανευε . . . .]
. . . οσ εγρ[αμματευε — 8 —]
[επε]στατε Α[—— ειπε ——]
5 . . . οντον α —— 15 ——
. . αντον αι —— 15 ——
— 5 — ον φε —— 15 ——
— 6 — α̣θ —— 16 ——

I.G. I^2 169 — 21 — (*traces of three letters*).
10 — 20 — *v* *h*ο δ
[ε γραμματευσ *h*ο τεσ βολε]σ ανα
[γραφσατο το δογμα εστελε]ι λι
[θινει *h*οι δε πολεται απομ]ισθ
[οσαντον *h*οι δε κολακρεται] δο
15 [ντον το αργυριον *h*οποσ δ αν] με
[αδικονται επιμελοσθον α]υ̣το
[*v* *h*οι στρατεγοι *h*οι αιει] στρα̣

I.G. I^2 61 [τε]γοντε[σ νυνι δε — 7 —] ε̣α̣[ι]
τοι Σικαν̣[οι χρεματισαι τεν β]
20 ολεν εαν [δ αλλο το δεεται τοσ π]
ρυτανεσ [προσαγεν αιει προσ τ]
εν βολεν [και τον δεμον επαναγ]
κεσ προ[τον μετα τα *h*ιερα επει]
δαν *h*ε [βολε πρεσβειαν εσ τον δ]
25 εμον ε̣[χσενεγκει *vacat*]
vacat

In 12 το δογμα is hardly satisfactory (I know no fifth-century use of the word): το ονομα, not very suitable in any case, conflicts with the plurals in 16–17. In 18 the possibilities are so many that we cannot determine the length of the Sikan's name; but *e.g.* [νυνι δ ευθυσ Φιλ]ε̣α̣[ι]. Line 24, cf. line 48 in my transcript of *I.G.* I^2 114, p. 121 above.

The fact that such extensive restorations are practicable from so few letters, means that they are not very distinctive or informing. We can hardly guess what the Sikan's business was till we can restore the opening lines; and these, which would increase our knowledge, for that very reason defy restoration. The mention of the Kolakretai, however, is certain in line 14; and this gives us a *terminus ad quem*, for the Kolakretai have disappeared by 409 (*I.G.* I^2 115). As for the prescript, [Ηιπ]π̣ο[θοντισ επρυτανευε .] is also possible: I hardly like to point out that the whole *will* bear restoration as

[Κεκ]ρ̣ο[πισ επρυτανευε Μνεσ]
[ιθε]οσ εγρ[αμματευε Ευπειθεσ]
[επε]στατε

i.e. the same *day* as Kallias' financial decrees (*I.G.* I^2 91/92), in the autumn of 434 B.C. Yet I confess that some time in the late 'thirties is the date to which I think this document belongs.

I suggest, therefore: *fig.* 11 *in the early 'thirties, fig.* 16 *in the late 'thirties, figs.* 12–14 *just after the outbreak of war.* The hand appears to belong to the 'thirties.

5. SIMILAR HANDS.

Fig. 11 has closer spacing than the rest of the examples I have collected. It may be a consequence of this, that the round letters are a little larger: it may be that the cutter, with the closer spacing, uses large O to exaggerate the all-over effect, and with the more open spacing increases the openness with his small o. But since in general small o is a mark of lateness, it is simpler to suppose the difference is because fig. 11 is earlier. In all other respects they are marvellously alike. Notice how the A and cognate letters always lean forward; how the lowest angle of ≤ is always a little more open than the others; how the diagonal of N is nearly always too flat to make perfect corners: compare the curved letters. I conclude by mentioning a few hands which use, I believe, the same three chisels, but do not, any of them, use them according to our cutter's system (as detailed on p. 122).

The nearest hand I know is *I.G.* I^2 318, and two other larger pieces which go with it. One is unpublished, in the Eleusis museum; one was published by Hondius in *Novae Inscriptiones Atticae* Leyden, 1925, No. XIII (= E.M. 5205), with an excellent photograph (Pl. VII). The most striking difference is the *sigma*, which is made entirely with the short chisel, and consequently much wider angles; but a glance at Hondius' photograph will shew that the hand is altogether much more irregular, much less beautiful.

He also uses the short chisel for the last stroke of N, the medium chisel for the horizontal of T, and in other ways departs from our cutter's canon. He uses a remarkable interpunct made with three uprights of the medium chisel and two horizontals of the long chisel. The fragments are all of inventories, so that there is no strong reason for supposing they come from a single *stele*, though they evidently all belong to one series. Hondius declines to ascribe his to the same *stele* as *I.G.* I^2 318, because they are of different thickness; but, in fact, neither has its original back surface, and both may originally have been as thick as the unpublished fragment, which has part of its back surface intact.

I.G. I^2 75 and 96 are very much less close, but use perhaps the same chisels, and are interesting to compare, either in the Museum, or in a squeeze library. Ordinarily they would seem regular hands, but after our cutter they are shockingly haphazard.

H. T. Wade-Gery.

Appendix: Note on New Readings in the *Lapis Primus* (see pp. 102, 109–11).

During the summer of 1934 I had an opportunity of examining the badly weathered fragment (no. 3) in the upper left-hand corner of the so-called *Lapis Primus* of the Athenian quota lists. At the foot of the lateral surface of the stone I was able to read the letters POΣ, spaced widely in a manner characteristic of the district headings. The upper half of each letter is visible, on the extreme edge of the stone. It is clear that these letters do not belong to an Ionic name but are, in fact, part of what must now be read as *h*ελ[λε]σπό[ντιος Φό]ρος in *I.G.* I^2 204 (*S.E.G.* V 14, 25).

The new reading means that the height of the stele is decreased 3·6 cms. This adjustment makes it possible to measure accurately the hitherto indeterminate length of the Ionic panel in *I.G.* I^2 204 and dispels all doubt as to the length of *I.G.* I^2 192 (see Meritt, *The Reconstruction of the Tribute Lists*, *A.J.A.* xxxiii (1929) 381). In a future publication the details of the changes so caused will be discussed, but the following are the adjustments in alignment necessitated in the printed text by the new positions of the stones.

In the Ionic panel of *I.G.* I^2 204 we now know definitely that the quotas recorded occupied sixteen lines in each column. Two lines must therefore be deleted from *S.E.G.* V 14, with the result that ʼΕ[λαιόσιοι] (l. 24) becomes line 22.

The shifts on the obverse face of the stele affect only *I.G.* I^2 192, where the exact size of the lacuna can be calculated. The lowering of the stones at the top brings fragment 4 nearer to fragments 6 and 10, decreasing the number of lines, exclusive of prescript, to nineteen, with the possible exception of column four, which may have had twenty.

Since *S.E.G.* V 7 col. 1, 33–38, cols. 2 and 3, 21–30 now appear to be part of the second list, we must adjust fragment 45, bearing the second and third columns, to bring the top names (*h*αιραῖοι, Πελειᾶται) level with the first entries of *I.G.* I^2 192. The fragment should be raised one line, giving the first column a total of nineteen lines.

The effect of this is to add one line to the lacuna above [Μι]λέσιοι in the fifth column of *S.E.G.* V 9, since the first four columns are automatically raised on the stone. It follows that a corresponding line must be inserted in the lacuna of *S.E.G.* V 10 between fragments 57 and 48.

Malcolm F. McGregor.

BYZANTINE ARCHITECTURE IN MANI

(Plates 17–21)

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Introductory.

It is a little surprising that practically nothing has been done to supplement Traquair's valuable pioneer work on the churches of Mani.[1] The field is richer even than his article suggests. The buildings are in a state of preservation unique for Greece, they cover a long period and their study may be expected to elucidate the history of the peninsula in the Middle Ages.

In July 1933 I spent four days in the villages between Pyrgos and Gerolimena, a journey of which the principal objective was the church of H. Theodoros at Vamvaka. This, the only dated church reported in Mani, is somewhat summarily dealt with in Traquair's survey.[2] Though small in size and simply decorated it gives the key to the chronology of the whole Mani group and seemed on this account to deserve a special examination. A short account of this church constitutes the core of the present article (pp. 139–145). For the rest I have taken the opportunity thus provided of publishing my notes on other monuments in the neighbourhood which have been hitherto overlooked. In the light of this new material and of recent researches on Middle-Byzantine architecture in general some passages in Traquair's 'Historical and General Conclusions' (pp. 210 f.) call for revision. I therefore append a short synopsis of the development of church architecture in Mani which comprehends all the available material[3] and is based on a first-hand examination of the buildings.

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[1] *The Churches of Western Mani*, *B.S.A.* xv 177–213, Pls. xi–xviii (cited below as: Traquair). Millet has made good use of Traquair's material in his *École grecque* and Mme. Soteriou has listed the churches in Βυζαντινὰ Μνημεῖα τῆς Λακεδαίμονος (Λακωνικά i, 1932) 17, but nothing further has been contributed by anyone with a first-hand knowledge of the buildings.

[2] Traquair 183 and Pl. xvii.

[3] In addition to Traquair's article and my own notes I have also had at my disposal an admirable series of photographs taken by Mr. A. L. McMullen, a student of the British School who visited Mani in 1928. I am indebted to him for permission to reproduce three of these as Pl. 20 *a* and *d* and Pl. 21 *c*.

In choosing illustrations while giving preference to those churches which are as yet unknown I have not confined myself to them. Those discussed by Traquair were in some particulars rather inadequately illustrated in his article; where the need was most apparent I have tried to meet it. In this and all respects the present article is intended as complementary to Traquair's work.

NOTES FROM A TOUR IN THE DEMES OF OITYLON AND MESSA, 1933.[1]

A. Primitive Chapels.
B. Middle-Byzantine Domed Churches.
C. Middle-Byzantine Vaulted Church.
D. Paintings.
E. Inscriptions.

A. PRIMITIVE CHAPELS.

Passim. These are single apsidal chambers with battering walls, often of considerable size and always covered with a barrel-vault. The masonry can only be called *megalithic*; I saw stones *in situ* in volume upwards of twenty cubic feet. The interstices of the huge roughly-worked blocks are filled with smaller stones. There is no trace of mortar and it is possible that it was never used. Brick is unknown.

Chapels of this type are so common in the villages visited that there is little point in listing their names. But it is perhaps worth noting that Ochiá in the Panagia offers an example which is intact and still in use. Generally, however, as in the case of H. Kyprianos by the neighbouring village of Kechriánika where the vault has fallen, they are in a ruinous state and have been superseded by churches of one or other of the domed types. The only church published by Traquair which has any affinity with them is H. Nikolaos at Platsa.[2] The masonry of 'large square blocks of brown limestone' is essentially the same, but here the single chamber is supplemented by two lateral ones only slightly narrower.

As a group they are readily distinguishable from Traquair's post-Byzantine series [3] by their greater size and greater solidity of construction. At the same time their general lack of refinement and the entire absence of any subtlety in detail precludes their classification in the period of the domed churches. In any case, if we may judge from a single example,[4] the vaulted chapels of that period differed from the *megalithic* in several important particulars.

The chapels thus appear to antedate the domed churches and there is little doubt that they are the earliest Christian buildings in Mani. Historical data indicate a date in the ninth century, for the peninsula was not converted to Christianity until the reign of Basil I.[1] There is some corroboration of this dating in the fact that the earliest Christian carved work, a series of capitals in the neighbourhood of Platsa,[2] belongs on stylistic grounds to the same period.

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[1] One of a series of journeys undertaken by the author during the season 1932–1933 as a student of the school with the aid of grants from the Craven and Byzantine Research and Publication Funds.

[2] Traquair 182 fig. 2, 194 and Pl. xv. Illustrations of all churches are listed on p. 162.

[3] *Ibid.* 194.

[4] H. Ioannes at Pyrgos *v. infra* p. 151.

B. Middle-Byzantine Domed Churches.

1. Glezou, Taxiarchai.
2. Vamvaka, H. Theodoros.
3. Eremos, H. Varvara.
4. Near Mezapo, Vlachérna.
5. Near Kouloumi, H. Trias.
6. Tigani, Episcope.

1. *GLEZOU, TAXIARCHAI* (Pl. 20 *c*). This church has already been noticed by Leake, Woodward and Traquair,[3] but there remains some confusion as to its name. The church 'near Pyrgos' discussed, but not illustrated, by Traquair is by the village of Glezou. It is dedicated to the Taxiarchai and presumably always was if we may judge from the phrase Ἀρχιστράτηγε τῶν ἄνω δυνάμεων at the commencement of the invocation on the east tie-beam. But Traquair follows Leake in preference to local custom and calls it H. Marina. Woodward names the church correctly but is inaccurate when he adds that it has 'been rebuilt since Leake's day out of the material of the ruined Ἁγία Μαρίνα, which had stood on the same site.' Only the west façade has been rebuilt, the rest is as it was erected in the eleventh century; H. Marina is a ruin about a quarter of a mile south-west of the church.

2. *VAMVAKA, H. THEODOROS* (Pls. 18 and 19 *a*, *b*; figs. 1 and 2). The church stands at the north end of the village. Its erection is fixed to the year 1075 by the inscription on the west tie-beam in which the mason Niketes recorded the completion of his work in August of that year.

Disposition (fig. 1). The Naos is of the simple-distyle type in which the dome is supported on the east not by free-standing columns but by the walls of the Bema. These walls are pierced by low doors giving access to the Parabemata, which like the westerly corner compartments are covered by barrel-vaults in the direction of the main axis of the building. The church terminates at the east in three apses, each externally of semi-hexagonal contour. At the west it is preceded by a Narthex communicating with the Naos and the exterior through a single door in each case.[1] This Narthex is vaulted in three parts; a central one running east–west and two lateral ones at a lower level in the perpendicular direction. The central vault is of the same width and at the same level as that of the west arm of the Naos and continues unbroken from the west wall of the Narthex to the dome. This feature is visible because the wall separating Narthex and Naos does not continue above the springing level of the vault.

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[1] Const. Porph. *De Administrando Imperio* (ed. Bonn) 224.

[2] There appear to be at least seven: one in Platsa (Traquair fig. 6), four in the Metamorphosis church at Koutéphare, south of Platsa (described Traquair 203) and two in H. Demetrios to the East of the same village (mentioned Traquair 204). They probably all come from a single building in Platsa itself similar to H. Nikolaos, we may conjecture, but with arcades. Their grotesque animal and figure subjects are unique but are recalled by a Cretan well-head in Herakleion Museum (Gerola *Monumenti Veneti nell' Isola di Creta* iv 57 fig. 32, *a–d*). However, the more conventional subjects—'the cross with leaves at the angles, peacocks drinking from a bowl . . .' etc.—shew a close affinity with the well-known ninth-century work at Skripou and Thebes and leave little doubt as to their date.

[3] Leake *Travels in the Morea* i 285; Woodward *Taenarum and Southern Maina* (*B.S.A.* xiii) 261; Traquair 191–192.

The simple-distyle disposition is widespread in Greece and is indeed peculiar to it.[2] In South Mani it predominates: of a total of thirteen domed churches seven belong to this type while no other plan is represented by more than two churches. Certain recurrent peculiarities serve to distinguish the Mani examples from the type as it is known elsewhere in Greece. The most notable of these is the continuity of the west arm of the Naos to the west wall of the Narthex, which amounts to including the central bay of the Narthex in the main body of the church and gives the Naos a markedly basilican proportion.[3] The Vamvaka church with its

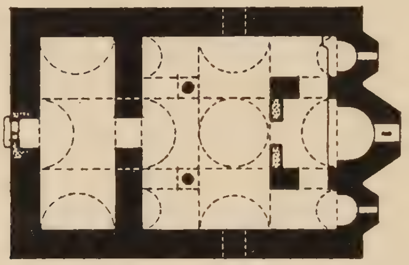

FIG. 1.—VAMVAKA, H. THEODOROS: SKETCH PLAN. SCALE 1:200.

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[1] Usually three doors connect Narthex and Naos. But in Mani, of the eight churches which have a Narthex only two, those at Ochiá and Eremos, have the lateral openings.

[2] Millet *École grecque* 57–58. Millet's *type simple* covers all churches where the Bema occupies the east arm of the cross and thus includes both those where the Parabemata are screened by solid walls pierced by small doors and also those where the walls give place to ample arches carried on a column at the west; that is to say, both Vamvaka and H. Georgios near Kytta. I prefer to respect this distinction from the outset and designate them respectively *simple-distyle* and *simple-tetrastyle*.

[3] *E.g.* H. Strategos, Ano Boularios illustrated with a section on Traquair's Pl. xv; also the churches at Gardenitsa, Glezou, Karouda, Ochiá and Eremos.

screen wall extending only to springing level offers a compromise between the Mani type and the normal complete closure.[1]

Structure. The two free-standing dome-supports are rectangular marble shafts with chamfered corners. They carry equilateral splayed capitals which are unornamented. Such purpose-cut shafts are regular in Mani where there were no older columns ready to hand.

Externally the walls are in the lower courses of local limestone rubble with an admixture of brick fragments. This rough plinth is broken once only, in the north façade, by the insertion of a large stone cross outlined in brick (Pl. 18 *b*, extreme right). Above a height of about two metres from ground level at the west end and about one metre at the east the walls, apses, gables and dome are built in the regular *cloisonné* manner of poros masonry with single bricks in both horizontal and vertical joints. The vaults and, probably, the dome are of stonework, concealed, save in the Narthex, by plaster. But the pendentives, the four dome arches and that of the doorway leading from the Narthex to the Naos are all in brick (Pl. 19 *a*).

Brick at one stage became the usual decorative medium in masonry, windows and dome, but it was never generally adopted in Mani as the structural unit.[2] When, therefore, it is found widely used in the Vamvaka church one must conclude that its builders were conversant with and inspired by contemporary building procedure in other parts of the Greek province to which brick was native or where its use was more prevalent.

Architectural Features. The west door, the only entrance door, is framed in marble and covered with a double arch in brick (Pl. 19 *b*).

The Bema window is of the arcade type with two lights in which the brickwork of the arches does not extend below the capital level. The Parabemata have each a single opening; that of the Diaconicon is illustrated by Traquair (Pl. xvi).

The three gable windows are of the grouped type, each having two lights separately arched but together contained within a third and larger arch. A distinction is to be drawn between the north and south windows, where the brickwork of the arches is carried down either side of the window for only half its height (Pl. 18 *b*), and the west window where the brickwork extends to the cill (Pl. 18 *a*).

The north gable window has a blind semi-arch on either side. This feature is found in other churches of Mani but cannot be said to be characteristic of them. At H. Petros near Pyrgos it is used in a more experimental manner in the west face of the dome, in which position it is unique (Pl. 20 *a*). H. Varvara at Eremos (Pl. 17 *b*) and H. Georgios near Kytta[1] illustrate the motif in conjunction with a more elaborate façade treatment[2] and are manifestly later than Vamvaka.

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[1] Found only once in Mani at Kéria (Traquair Pl. xi), a complex-tetrastyle church which in date must stand at the end of the series.

[2] I noticed structural brickwork in only two other churches: Gardenitsa (pendentives) and Karouda (dome arches).

The window shafts, of the usual rectangular section, carry splayed capitals; like the dome supports, neither shafts nor capitals are ornamented. Here as in many of the Mani churches the windows in some cases retain their original carved marble closures. The pair in the west gable have at the head a bird pecking at a bunch of grapes and, below, a series of three circles bound with interlacing borders. Of these the centre one is pierced through and the others contain acanthus motifs. The closure of the Diaconicon window is illustrated by Traquair (Pl. xvi).

The dome (Pl. 18 *b*) is octagonal with an arching cornice line but without attached shafts at the corners and with windows in the cardinal faces only.[3] These deviations from the normal type recur at H. Petros (Pl. 20 *a*) and in conjunction with a level cornice at H. Strategos[4] and the Asomatoi church, which are among the earliest of the domed churches. The normal columned dome, characteristic of the Athenian churches, is not rare in Mani but is only found in churches posterior to Vamvaka. Outside Mani the Vamvaka type reappears at H. Ioannes at Ligourio,[5] a church which I have dated in the last quarter of the eleventh century. Though close in date the two churches are so far apart as to preclude any possibility of direct imitation. The coincidence is better explained by a common ancestry. For even by itself the Ligourio dome suggests that a similar type was once generally employed throughout Greece, a type which begot in the course of time the neat Athenian dome, columned and with eight windows, and of which Ligourio represents a late survival.

Façade Ornament (fig. 2). Six brick patterns interrupt the *cloisonné* masonry. No. 5 takes its place in the long series of such cross-figures which I have discussed elsewhere.[6] The occurrence of the step-pattern, no. 4, if only in one fragment, accords well with the first appearance of the motif at Athens in the third quarter of the eleventh century[1] and provides an interesting local precedent for the elaborate step-frieze of H. Georgios near Kytta (fig. 3). The remaining patterns fall into that group which I have called Geometric, being dependent neither on written characters nor on Christian symbols but merely on the shape of the space to be filled.[2] Of these no. 2 recurs at the Glezou church.

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[1] Traquair 187 fig. 3, Pl. xiv 1.

[2] In both churches the brick dentil is freely used, while at Vamvaka as at H. Strategos and the Asomatoi church it does not occur.

[3] The intermediate faces are adorned with glazed bowls. These, like the bowls in the window tympana and the semi-arches, such as survive, are of a coarse local ware. They are certainly contemporary with the building but, unlike those at Eremos, are not comparable to the known types of Byzantine pottery. Similar bowls are to be seen in other churches of the district. They are characterised by a thick cream-coloured slip which before glazing is adorned with rough daubs of colour, at best constrained to ill-conceived designs. In this ware incision is unknown.

[4] Traquair Pl. xii 1.

[5] The Ligourio dome has been re-tiled to horizontal eaves, but the arching cornice which represents the original contour is plainly visible below. No photograph of this church has been published.

[6] *Chron. Mid.-Byz. Churches* (*B.S.A.* xxxii) 111.

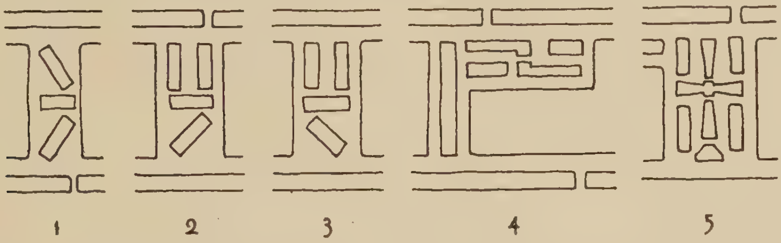

Fig. 2.—Vamvaka, H. Theodoros: Brick Patterns. Scale 1 : 15.
1 and 2 (twice), North Façade; 3 and 4, South Façade; 5, Prothesis.

Mani is not rich in ornament of this type and where it appears it is in a rudimentary form. It is used in four other churches but only in a few patterns in each case. The figures used at H. Petros resemble those of H. Strategos and are characterised by an amiable inconsequence of

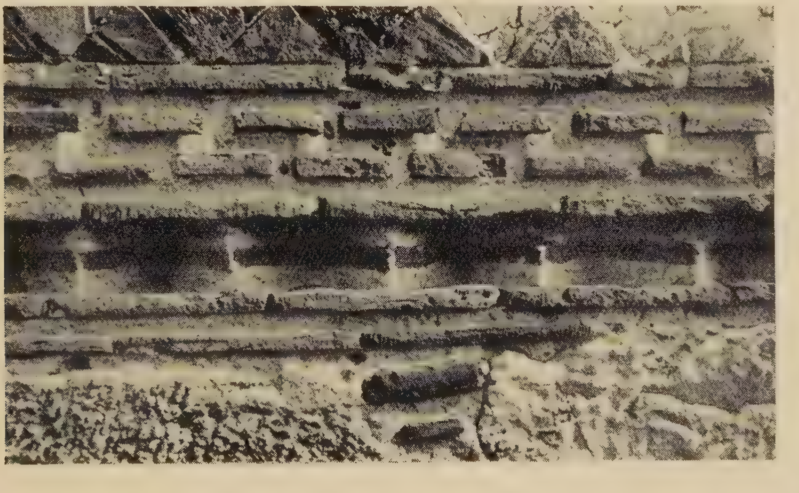

Fig. 3.—Near Kytta, H. Georgios: Step-Pattern Frieze and Tile-Diaper. Scale 1 : 10.

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[1] In the Kapnikarea church, cf. *Chron. Mid.-Byz. Churches* 118.
[2] *Ibid.* 103–104.

design.[1] Roof-tile fragments producing curved units are found in both churches but nowhere else, which suggests that the two are close in date. The patterns of the Gardenitsa church are the most elaborate in Mani, the only ones which conform to the Cufic types and the only ones in which the units are shaped by cutting.[2] By analogy with the Athenian series, in which as early as 1050 the vogue for Cufic was already declining, the Gardenitsa church must occupy a place intermediate between the examples just cited and the Vamvaka church. Finally, the three patterns of the Glezou church are very similar to those at Vamvaka and both churches belong to the period when the technique was fast dying out.

The discovery in Mani of non-Cufic pattern types in churches contemporary with if not anterior to the zenith of the Cufic style is an important addition to our knowledge of the technique. It provides a satisfactory confirmation of the hypothesis that at one time prior to the appearance of the Cufic element a single pattern style was in general use throughout the Greek peninsula, in the main non-representational but at times including characters of the Greek Alphabet and Christological symbols.[3]

Carved Ornament. The marble ties to the dome arches (Pl. 19 *b*) are a feature common to all the churches of South Mani. Here those to the north, east and south arches are carved on the inside only, that to the west on both. Each is divided into four sections by three equidistant projecting bosses on which are cut whorls, crosses or rosettes. The ornament of the inner divisions differs from that of the outer not only in design but often in technique also.[4] This too is a regular feature, especially in the earlier churches. The designs are as follows: the palmette-filled arcade motif which was prevalent in the tenth century,[5] circles joined by interlacing fillets enclosing acanthus figures or (in the central position) a cross with trefoil arms,[6] erect seven-point acanthus in interlacing circles [7] and, finally, as the last pattern but with leaves alternately erect and inverted.[8] This juxtaposition of tenth-century motifs—whorls and palmette-filled arcades—with others which one would expect at a later date characterises much of the carved work in the Mani churches.

[1] However, the following interpretations for some of the patterns are probably justified: at H. Strategos Z, Π and the *chi-rho* monogram; at H. Petros Σ.

[2] Pl. 19 *c*.

[3] Cf. *Chron. Mid.-Byz. Churches* 110–111.

[4] The inner are generally chip-cut while the outer are in the champlevé technique.

[5] If we may judge by the epistyle at Magnesia ad Sipylum dated to the year 967 (Strzygowski *Wiener Studien* xiv 2). There are early examples in Mani at the Asomatoi church and H. Strategos. At Vamvaka on the inner divisions of the south and east ties and on the east face of the west tie in the same position.

[6] North tie, inner and (in champlevé) outer divisions.

[7] East tie, outer divisions. Cf. the templon epistyle at H. Strategos (Traquair Pl. xvi).

[8] South tie, outer divisions.

The west door lintel (Pl. 19 *a*) with its foliated cross and flanking birds in high relief has many counterparts in eleventh-century lintels in Athens and elsewhere which can now be dated with greater precision. The templon, of which several fragments remain, was similar to the lintel in style. The epistyle has a central cross foliated at both top and bottom and, in addition to bosses and interlacing motifs, a gryphon. One of the thorakia is in the Prothesis; it is of the well-known pattern with a central rosette enclosed by a rhomb whose four corners are interlaced with the rectangular frame. Finally, the marble below the lintel of the entrance door (Pl. 19 *a*) may originally have formed part of the templon. Dawkins noted that the jambs which support it are upside down.[1] The doorway was evidently reset and the lower marble introduced when the lintel cracked. This second series—lintel, templon epistyle and thorakion—is in style more homogeneous than the dome ties and, we may infer, more representative of Greek ornament at the time when the church was built. It is tenable that Niketes only cut the ties dedicated by Leo and that the building of the church and the remainder of the carving was in other hands. The monastery as a whole, as we learn from the inscription on the lintel, was due to a second benefactor, Theodoros.

3. *EREMOS, H. VARVARA* (Pl. 17). The village lies between Gardenitsa and Kouloumi and the church is evidently the 'Áia Varvára, near a ruined village,' noticed by Leake on his way from Pyrgos to Nomia.[2] This if not the most typical is the most perfect church in Mani. The workmanship is excellent, being equalled only by H. Georgios near Kytta,[3] and this, in conjunction with the singular felicity of proportion which informs the whole building, places it among the finest in Greece. It offers a diversity of decorative technique in itself archaeologically significant and aesthetically most successful. Happily, and most unusually, the church remains in all essentials as the builders left it.

Disposition. The plan is of the simple-distyle type. To the west is a Narthex communicating with the Naos through three openings,[4] an arrangement found at Ochiá alone among the Mani churches and there in conjunction with the same type of plan. No partition separates the Narthex from the Naos and the vault of its central bay continues without a break eastwards to the dome. Barrel vaults are used throughout.

Structure. Internally the method of construction is not visible, the whole surface being plastered and whitewashed with the exception of the main apse, where there are traces of Post-Byzantine paintings. Some of the roof slopes are covered with stone slabs,[1] but elsewhere and in the dome the cement surface is exposed.

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[1] Traquair 184.

[2] *Travels in the Morea* i 287.

[3] On the fine quality of the Kytta church *vide* Traquair 211.

[4] A single opening is regular in Mani, *v. supra* p. 140[1].

Architectural Features. The south door is distinctly horseshoed and in this, in its stone arch in two orders and in its surrounding brick dentil, reproduces exactly the west door of H. Georgios near Kytta.[2] The other door, at the west end, has an outer arch of brick, which recalls earlier types. The same door retains its moulded architrave (fig. 4).

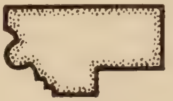

Fig. 4.—Eremos, H. Varvara: West Door Architrave Moulding. Scale 1 : 10.

There is no window in the west gable.[3] This is a rare occurrence, contrasting strongly with the elaborate west window of H. Georgios and analogous rather to the small single light in this position in the church at Ochiá. On the other hand, the grouped window in the apse pairs better with that at H. Georgios (Pl. 19 *d*) than with the arcade window of the other church (Pl. 21 *b*). H. Varvara has therefore something in common with each of these churches and there can be little doubt that in date it falls between them. The gable windows give further indication of this relationship. A two-light grouped window is used in the lateral gables both at Ochiá and Eremos; but the introduction [4] of the semi-arch in the south gable of the latter church (Pl. 17 *b*) places it after Ochiá but before H. Georgios, where the motif is elaborated and used in all the gables.[5]

Window Closures. The whole series of carved window marbles—thin translucent slabs of coarse local marble—remains complete and intact.

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[1] Traquair supposes (179) that the similar slabs at H. Strategos represent the original roof-covering. This hypothesis, while it affords a tempting affinity with the Asomatoi church, which is in any case fairly close to it in date and where the slab roof is certainly original, will hardly support examination. Such slab coverings are found in Mani churches of all periods (*e.g.* H. Petros near Pyrgos and the churches at Glezou, Ochiá and Keria) and evidently were used in every case where an original tile covering of the normal type had been damaged, or removed for use elsewhere. The survival of the original tiling in the churches at Gardenitsa and Vamvaka attests its employment from the middle of the eleventh century. Further, the presence of curved fragments in the brick patterns of H. Petros and H. Strategos, the earliest churches where brick is used, indicates that the half-round roof-tile was first introduced in Mani quite as early as the plain wall-tile.

[2] Traquair Pl. xiv 1, where the door is shewn in a damaged condition; it is now completely destroyed.

[3] As at the Karouda church (Traquair Pl. xii 5).

[4] Not invention, nor imitation of other traditions, but rather a return to favour of a feature which was early a characteristic of the Mani churches; *v. supra* pp. 141–2.

[5] Traquair 187 fig. 3 and Pl. xiv 1.

They are cut in low relief with characteristic Middle-Byzantine patterns: foliated crosses (Parabemata [1]) and conventional acanthus motifs enclosed in interlacing circles (Bema, gables and dome). Most of these closures are pierced near the top with a small circle or half-circle. The slab filling the tympanum of the south door belongs to the same series and is decorated with a cross between confronted birds.[2]

Comparing these with the few others which have survived in the locality it appears that the series as a whole shews practically no stylistic development and but little variety in detail. They were evidently cut to measure in the neighbouring quarries under mass-production conditions which offered a very limited repertory of designs.

Façade Ornament. A characteristic of the masonry, which save at the base of the north wall is regular and in the *cloisonné* technique, is the frequent suppression of the vertical tile. The Greek Fret friezes on either side of the apse recall those in the west front of Ochiá [3] and in the twelfth-century churches in Argolis.

More remarkable is the band of tile diaper—a revetment of tiles set diagonally—which runs across the south façade below the eaves. This technique couples the church once more with H. Georgios, where a similar band continues round the west and north façades and the three faces of the main apse (Pl. 19 *d*). In the latter position there is a small passage of similar tilework in the Eremos church, but on the centre face only.[4] If the technique is shewn in a more perfect and elaborate form at the Kytta church, H. Nikolaos at Ochiá represents an earlier stage in the development in the friezes on its north and south façades. Here rather larger tiles are used and set diagonally in a single row, the triangular interstices of which are not filled with half-tiles, as in the other churches, but shew the face of the mortar in which the frieze is set (Pl. 21 *b*).[5]

Such tile diapers are common in churches of tenth-century date both in the Peloponnese [6] and further north,[7] and again in the Late-Byzantine schools of Arta (H. Vasilios and the Paregoretissa church) and Mistra (H. Theodoroi). The use of diapers in three Mani churches which belong without doubt to the twelfth century provides an important link between the two groups, for the contemporary examples elsewhere in Greece [1] are too rare to establish continuity. A similar tile revetment is used in a fourth Mani church—the Metamorphosis at Koutéphare, where it flanks the north and west gable windows (Pl. 20 *d*). This church has certain archaic features which attest a date in the eleventh century and it thus provides a satisfactory mid-point between the early group and its twelfth-century neighbours in South Mani.

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[1] As at Vamvaka (Traquair Pl. xvi).

[2] An analogous tympanum panel is over the west door of the Keria church (Pl. 21 *d*). This is similar, but the birds are replaced by stylised foliate motifs.

[3] Traquair Pl. xvi. The motif recurs in a tentative form and evidently at an earlier date in the north gable of the Gardenitsa church (Pl. 20 *b*).

[4] The tiles used in the two churches are identical and measure 13 × 13 × 3 cms.

[5] At Ochiá the tile revetment is in a damaged condition; cf. Traquair 181, 'The church has originally had a deep brick band beneath the eaves, but this is now plastered up and the pattern, if any, is unrecognizable.'

[6] Zourtsa in Triphylia and Tegea; cited by Millet *École grecque* 281 and 282[2] respectively.

[7] Epirus, Ano Lampovo (Ἐφημ. 1906, 108 ff.).

Bowls. Three of the bowls, which are set in the tympana or beside the windows, have survived in good condition. These are far superior to the rough dishes of local ware used in the other churches of the district, and are probably characteristic of the best provincial factories (Athens, Corinth, etc.), from one of which they were doubtless imported. They are executed in the slip-painted technique. The design is drawn direct on the clay with the thick white paste which in the scraffito and incised techniques is applied evenly to the whole surface. In these bowls there is no applied colour and the glaze used is yellow in each case. That over the Bema window has a bird surrounded by foliate scroll-work filling a circle which occupies the centre of the bowl. Another, over the Prothesis window, has a white-spotted leopard attacked by hounds treated in broad style and filling the whole surface. Finally, one in the south gable repeats the bird and scroll-work subject but with a combination of two techniques. The bird as before is slip-painted, but the delicate scroll-work around it shews black against a white ground and is probably incised, though I did not see the bowl close enough to make certain.

Examples of this slip-painted ware have been published from Athens [2] and Corinth.[3] Rice classes it, rather unhappily, with the incised ware,[4] with regard to which he says, ‘ it is hardly safe to recognise any considerable use of the ware before about 1200.’ Waagé [5] gives the technique separate treatment among the painted wares and points out the similarity of the linear designs it favours to those employed in the early scraffito dishes. The recent discovery at Corinth of pieces with the two techniques juxtaposed vindicates Waagé’s comparison and shews that the slip-painted technique may have been first introduced as much as a hundred years earlier than Rice suggests. In any case the bowls in the Eremos church attest the prevalence of this technique during the twelfth century. Lastly, we may note the lavish use of bowls in this church as a final indication of twelfth-century date.[1]

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[1] At Samari, Messenia, in the north gable and the demolished church of H. Elias at Athens in the dome, best illustrated by du Moncel *Vues pittoresques des monuments d’Athènes* (Paris, 1845) pl. xiv. The ornamented tiles in H. Charalampos (cemetery church) at Kalamata, cited by Millet *op. cit* 282², are not in their original position.

[2] *Hesperia* II ii 324 fig. 18 *a–f*.

[3] Δελτίον Χριστ. Ἀρχ. Ἑτ. i (1924), 32 no. 3.

[4] *Byzantine Glazed Pottery* 1930, 34.

[5] *Hesperia* II ii 323.

Carved Ornament. In contrast to the almost perfect condition of the building the sculptural remains are meagre. The original templon has not survived *in situ* nor could I find a single fragment which might have belonged to it. The dome ties are in position but much defaced. Each has three bosses and between them normal rinceau motifs and stylised acanthus foliage cut throughout in the champlevé technique.

4. *NEAR MEZAPO, VLACHÉRNA* (Figs. 5–6). The church is near the shore on the bay closed by the peninsula of Tigani about a kilometre west of the village of Mezapo. With the exception of the dome, where brick is used, it is built entirely of large well-squared blocks of masonry; at the base of coarse local marble, above of poros. A single brick dentil course which does not completely surround the building affords the only relief to this uniformity of surface. The façade built entirely without brick is rarely found in Middle-Byzantine churches. In discussing other examples I have suggested that it was the natural outcome of the reaction against the extravagant brick ornamentation which characterised the churches of the first half of the eleventh century.[2] In the case of the Vlachérna church the omission of brickwork meant in addition a return to the indigenous building tradition represented by the primitive chapels in which brick was unknown. Indeed that tradition may not have been completely ousted by the alien brick style. The Asomatoi church,[3] apparently the earliest domed church in Mani, provides an important link; no brick is used and structurally it is in harmony with its simpler predecessors.

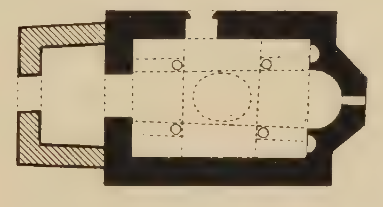

Fig. 5.—Vlachérna: Plan. Scale 1 : 200.

In plan the church follows the simple-tetrastyle type, which lacks both the triple sanctuary to the east and the Narthex to the west, and is represented in this part of Mani by H. Georgios near Kytta. The Vlachérna church has one apse as compared with three at H. Georgios, a difference attributable no doubt to the smaller size of the former. That the two churches are approximately contemporary is shewn by the similarity of their dome supports. In the Vlachérna church all four supports have fallen, yet the dome stands! There is also affinity in the carved ornament of the two churches: the string-course at the base of the dome follows the same chequer pattern in each case.

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[1] Cf. *Chron. Mid.-Byz. Churches* 126. Of the churches there referred to, Merbaka is in this respect closest to Eremos.

[2] *Ibid.* 112.

[3] Traquair 185.

Apart from the windows in the dome there is only one: a single light in the apse, arched, like the north and west doors, in stone. In the interior the plaster has fallen, exposing the materials with which it is constructed: the arches are of poros, the vaults of rubble and the dome is built in concentric circles of cut stone.

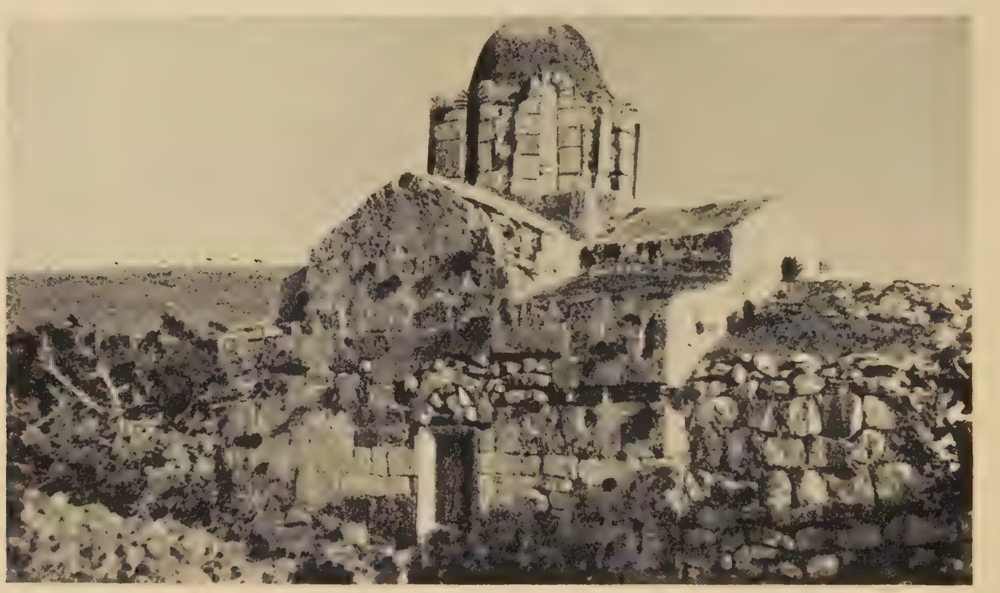

Fig. 6.—Vlachérna, from North-West.

5. *NEAR KOULOUMI, H. TRIAS.* A monastery on rising ground to the east of the track joining Eremos and Kouloumi (not visited). It is said to contain a domed church similar to that at Kouloumi.[1]

6. *TIGANI, EPISKOPE.* The church is on the Tigani peninsula (not visited). This church should be of especial interest if, as the name suggests, it was the former ecclesiastical centre of the district. It is said to be particularly rich in carved marbles.[2]

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[1] The Kouloumi church is of the simple-distyle type. Traquair (183) speaks of it as having been practically rebuilt and dismisses it in a few lines. I did not visit it.

[2] Illustrated in A. Tarsoule Κάστρα καὶ Πολιτείες τοῦ Μοριᾶ fig. 82.

C. Middle-Byzantine Vaulted Church.

PYRGOS, H. IOANNES. A barrel-vaulted single cell which recalls the primitive group. However, the semi-hexagonal contour of the apse together with the use of brick in the joints of the masonry shews clearly that it belongs to a much later date. The doorway in the south façade has not been disturbed; it is arched in stone, a feature which suggests a date in the twelfth rather than in the eleventh century.[1] The templon epistyle remains *in situ* and is in style similar to that at the Karouda church.[2] The latter was almost certainly imported, as Traquair suggests, in a finished state; the former may be the work of a local imitator. Both are of early twelfth-century style.

D. Paintings.

ANO BOULARIOS, H. STRATEGOS. In this church is a complete cycle of paintings, in good if not perfect condition. These are the only paintings I saw in Mani which appeared to antedate the Latin occupation. They may be contemporary with the erection of the church, which cannot be placed later than the early years of the eleventh century.

The Ephor of Christian Antiquities has taken the steps necessary to ensure the preservation of these paintings. It is hoped that a special expedition to photograph and study them in detail will be undertaken before long.

E. Inscriptions.

1. *GLEZOU, TAXIARCHAI.* The very close affinity of the dome ties of this church to those of H. Theodoros at Vamvaka suggests a new interpretation for an obscure passage in one of the inscriptions.[3]

κ(ύρι)ε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δούλῳ Νικητῇ κω καὶ παντὸς τοῦ οἴκου αὐτοῦ . . .

This on the north tie. The other inscriptions on the east and west ties present no difficulty. They record in similar formulae the supplications of Eustratios and Theodoros Koulouras, whom we may regard as the donors of the ties if not the actual founders of the church. In the Niketes inscription Dawkins reads Κο(λουρᾶ) for κω, making Niketes a third member of the family. Alternatively, and I think preferably, he can be identified with the homonymous craftsman of the Vamvaka ties by reading κο(σμητῄ).[1] In which case having recorded the pious invocations of the donors he ventured to add a word on his own behalf, in much the same spirit as he added his name to the Vamvaka inscription.[2]

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[1] Cf. *Chron. Mid.-Byz. Churches* 122–123.

[2] Used as a lintel to the west door (Traquair 190 fig. 4); a second piece serves as threshold to the same door.

[3] All the details of the Vamvaka ties are here repeated and in addition only one new motif occurs—an alternating scroll of stylised acanthus. The inscriptions have been published and discussed by Dawkins (Traquair 191–192).

2. *KAROUDA*, *TAXIARCHAI.* In the Narthex on the niche in the south wall, painted. It is in a fragmentary condition and the end is completely lost. The names given are probably those of benefactors who restored or redecorated the church in the fourteenth century; for below the inscription, and evidently related to it, is the date

ἔτους ϚωΠ (= A.D. 1371/1372).

The Development of Church Architecture in Mani.

According to Constantine Porphyrogenitus the inhabitants of the peninsula were not converted to Christianity until the reign of Basil I. His statement finds confirmation in the total absence of early Christian remains and in the fact that the sequence of carved marbles in the locality commences with a series of capitals of ninth-century style.

The builders of Mani employed for their earliest churches an apsidal basilica vaulted in stone. In its rude simplicity and its exclusive use of local materials, which include neither brick nor timber, we may regard this type as indigenous. Chapels of this character are found throughout the peninsula and attest the simultaneous conversion of the whole area. They are for the most part simple cells, but two- and three-aisled churches are also found. Of the latter form an interesting specimen has survived in H. Nikolaos at Platsa, where at a later date a dome was saddled on the central vault.

In the course of the tenth century the mission of Hosios Nikon to Mani was an historical event of some importance which was not without its effect on the local architecture.[3] Nikon was a church-builder, and it was probably through some such medium that the Mani builders became acquainted with the domical types which were at this time beginning to appear in other parts of Greece. To this period belongs the church of the Asomatoi which typologically has close affinity with tenth-century churches in the Peloponnese and further north.[1] By its four solid piers the church occupies a mid-point in the evolution of the columned church from the cruciform plan inscribed in a square.[2] The L-shaped walls which in the latter type enclose the corner compartments and support the dome have been reduced to a homogeneous, free-standing pier. Other significant features are the externally semicircular contour of the apses, the indentation of the four dome arches into the supporting piers and in the dome itself the squat proportions and the level eaves; all of these are characteristics of the tenth-century churches. Structurally, however, the church derives directly from the primitive chapels of the locality, for no fragment of brick nor splinter of wood is found in the building. The dual parentage of this church gives the key to the heterogeneous character of the architecture which subsequently developed.

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[1] The use of ο or ω in these inscriptions is quite arbitrary.

[2] The grammatical inconsistency between the Niketes and Koulouras inscriptions, in one of which the same formula is used, suggests that for the donor's inscription he had a copy to guide him, but for his own was self-dependent.

[3] ‘Εἶτα τὴν Δωριέων χώραν καταλαβὼν καὶ δύο ναοὺς ἱεροὺς ἐκεῖσε δειμάμενος καὶ πᾶσι τὴν μετάνοιαν κηρύξας, πρὸς Μαΐνην παρεγένετο.’—‘Ο βίος Νίκωνος τοῦ Μετανοεῖτε (ed. Lambros, Νέος ‘Ελληνομνήμων iii, 1906) 161. It should be remembered that his headquarters were at Sparta, whose importance as a centre during the tenth century must have been considerable.

In Greece, which during the eleventh and early part of the twelfth century, thanks to the expansion of its silk trade, was becoming increasingly prosperous, Mani inevitably occupied a provincial rather than a central position. Thus, while in the neighbourhood of Corinth and Athens it is possible to trace a gradual and rational development of building forms, in Mani the progress was by comparison spasmodic. Two antagonistic tendencies were at work: a conservatism which was very retentive of any feature or technique once it had found a place in the repertory of the local builder and which was coupled with the economic desirability of using local materials and, secondly, a desire to emulate the superior works of their more prosperous contemporaries in other parts of Greece.[3] These mutually hostile influences were never resolved. There was no synthesis, only compromise; with the result that in Mani there did not develop such a strongly individual style as one might have expected in view of its geographic isolation and the vigorous character of its people. Instead it is plain that we are dealing with an outlying province of the Greek School at once imitative and retrospective. Sufficiently imitative to be included in the main current of the Greek tradition and even to throw some light on its development; sufficiently retrospective to leave no doubt as to the character of the earliest, indigenous architecture of the district. With these factors in mind we may pass to an analysis of the monuments.

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[1] These, which are not few in number, have rarely been recognised for what they are. Nor have they been adequately published. Largely for this reason they were not included in the *Chronology of some Middle-Byzantine Churches*. They stand at a crucial point in the development of church types and deserve to be better known. I hope to contribute something towards this end in the near future. In the meantime the affinity noted between them and the Asomatoi church must be taken on trust.

[2] It should not on any account be confused with the later simple-distyle type, which in fact developed from it. Cf. Traquair 185.

[3] Except in a single instance the model is always provided by the work of the Greek School, itself in a sense provincial, but profoundly individual; the exception is a problematical contact with the Capital (*v. infra* p. 155).

The first half of the eleventh century witnessed the introduction of the simple-distyle type at H. Strategos, Ano Boularios and H. Soter, Gardenitsa.[1] Here the normal plan is modified out of deference to the earlier basilical tradition by abolishing the west wall of the Naos and including the Narthex under a continuous vault. In addition the narrow single-light windows covered by an arched-shaped lintel which are used throughout the former church derive from the same tradition. On the other hand, both reflect the tenth-century type of the Asomatoi church: H. Strategos in its ill-lit octagonal dome with level eaves and in the semicircular contour of the apses; H. Soter in the indentation of the dome arches. The latter church has another early feature in the course of projecting tiles which encircles the interior at springing level. Such elementary string-courses are found in earlier churches,[2] while in later if a string-course is used it is invariably of stone or marble and, in Mani, invariably carved. In the same churches brick makes its first appearance, and with it the embedded pattern and the *cloisonné* masonry technique. The patterns at H. Strategos are of a coarse irregular character, but in the other church follow the Cufic types so popular in the Athenian circuit.[3] The introduction of brick to the façade demanded regularity in the masonry and the squaring of the hard local marbles and limestones, a task so difficult that it was soon obviated by the importation of a more tractable poros stone. In the churches where the local material is still used (H. Strategos and, in a lesser degree, H. Soter) we may note a pleasing polychrome effect obtained by the use of a rich purple limestone in horizontal bands.[4]

Between these two churches must be placed a third—H. Petros near Pyrgos. Its brick patterns are identical to those of H. Strategos and its small stone-covered apse window, analogous to those of the same church, reflects the indigenous tradition. In plan it attaches to another, essentially primitive, type—the free cross. On the other hand, the semi-hexagonal apse couples it with the Gardenitsa church, in common with which in the indentation of the dome arches it repeats a characteristic of the Asomatoi and other tenth-century churches. H. Petros, which must date from about the year 1025, marks the early efforts of the Mani builders to imitate the dome with arching cornice.[1] In plan the dome is an irregular octagon, the cardinal faces being the broader, and they alone, as at H. Strategos, have windows (Pl. 20 *a*). In the west face it is filled out to the larger curve of the cornice line by a semi-arch on either side. These and the other window arches are framed with a brick dentil, a feature which is lacking on the intermediate faces. There are traces of tile-work between the arches, indicating that the cornice may have been in this material, not marble. The more regular dome of the Gardenitsa church is circular in plan (Pl. 20 *b*). This, like the five-sided apse (Pl. 19 *c*), one is tempted to regard as a compromise between the primitive circular contour [2] and the polygonal form of the eleventh-century Greek churches. But much more probably both derive from the contemporary Constantinopolitan school.[3] In any case this church provides an interesting precedent on Laconian soil for the circular domes at Mistra.[4] Note two unusual features: the corner shaft inset into the masonry, for in the circular form it usually stands free outside it; and the tile cornice in three courses projecting one beyond the other, a type which may have been used at H. Petros also.

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[1] In Traquair's plan (Pl. xi) portions of the later masonry templon are wrongly incorporated with the piers on which they abut.

[2] *E.g.* Alaï Bey (Skala), Laconia.

[3] In addition to those on the apse (Pl. 19 *c*) there is a similar frieze across the west end, for the most part obscured by the later porch.

[4] The same stone, though it early disappeared from the façade, continued to be used in the pavements of the churches.

If the Gardenitsa church reflects in certain features the contemporary architecture of the Capital, H. Theodoros at Vamvaka (1075) derives very definitely from the North-Peloponnesian-Athenian circuit and more directly than any of the preceding churches. The *cloisonné* masonry is more regular; there is an increasing use of brick for structural purposes; in plan its partial closure between Narthex and Naos approximates to the more normal type and the dome, though still with only four windows, in its regularity marks a great advance on that of H. Petros. The grouped window here makes its first appearance and the semi-arch motif, clumsily used at H. Petros, is here completely mastered. Here also, somewhat later than in the Athenian series, there is a marked diminution in the number of brick patterns. Setting aside the archaising features in the dome, H. Theodoros is free from the anomalous character of the earlier churches and reflects fairly accurately the architecture of the main Greek School during the third quarter of the eleventh century.

[1] In the Athenian circuit the earliest survivor of the type in its fully developed form is the dome of the H. Apostoloi, in Athens itself, a church which cannot antedate H. Petros by many years. For illustrations *vide Chron. Mid.-Byz. Churches* 116^5.

[2] The majority of the tenth-century domes are circular.

[3] The circular dome of the Myrelaion remains, but with a level cornice which has no doubt replaced one of the arched type. In most other tenth- and eleventh-century churches in the Capital the domes have been rebuilt at a later date. Chios, however, provides important examples in the church at Pyrgi (Orlandos *Monuments byzantins de Chios* Pls. 38, 40–42), which if not as old as Gardenitsa evidently derives from earlier prototypes.

[4] H. Sophia, Peribleptos and Evangelistria. The windows of the Gardenitsa dome have been walled up at some later date. In the fillings are two fine bowls of white-ground ware painted in green and brown.

The church in the village of Glezou (*v. supra* p. 139) shews further progress in its dome which is the earliest in Mani to reproduce exactly the developed Greek form.[1] However, in other respects—the design of its windows,[2] which only in the north gable follows the grouped type, and in the absence of the Naos-Narthex partition—it is retrogressive and recalls the Gardenitsa church. It would therefore be reasonable to regard it as approximately contemporaneous with H. Theodoros at Vamvaka. Apart from affinities of style which connect the two churches there is a strong probability that the same craftsman Niketes worked in both buildings (*v. supra* p. 151 f.). The Glezou church marks the disappearance of the brick pattern and with one exception is the last building on which the technique was employed. The designs are analogous to those at Vamvaka, but the fact that there are fewer attests a slightly later date.

Among the earliest developed domes must be placed that of the Metamorphosis church at Koutéphare in north Mani (Pl. 20 *d*). Here the corners, not the sides, face the cardinal and the diagonal points, an irregularity which, coupled with primitive features elsewhere in the church,[3] postulates a date within the eleventh century. This church is thus the earliest example in the district of the simple-tetrastyle type which enjoyed a considerable vogue in Mani during the following century.

The complex plan makes its first appearance probably before 1100, in the Karouda church. Traquair notes that the triple sanctuary and the Naos together occupy a rectangle whose proportions are those of the simple type, which suggests a casual acquaintance with the complex disposition but no previous experience in its construction. In other respects the church, like that at Vamvaka, offers ample evidence of close contact with the main Greek school, but with buildings of rather later date. There are no brick patterns,[4] stone is introduced in the inner arch over the west door[1] and there are unmistakable traces of a wall which separated Narthex and Naos but which was at a later date removed. The grouped window is much in evidence, being used both in the north and south walls of the Narthex and in all eight faces of the dome,[2] which in this form finds its only analogue in H. Theodoroi at Athens. But the two-light arcade type is retained in the north and south gables, as at Kaisariane in Attica, and in the main apse window, above which is a short passage of brick dentil, a combination found in the same Attic church.[3]

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[1] Corner shafts, arched cornice in marble and a window in every face. All the windows are now built up, and Traquair (191) evidently regards the filling of those on the diagonal faces as contemporary with the construction of the church. Of this I am not convinced. But if they are regarded as niches they none the less simulate windows and the dome as a whole remains a fair replica of the Athenian type.

[2] Cf. Traquair 191, ‘The windows on the north and south gables were originally double; . . . the dentil course of the large containing arch shows their position.’ I assume this is true of the north window, of which I have no note; in the south my photograph shews a single light as at Gardenitsa (Pl. 21 *a*).

[3] Arcade window in the north gable, that in the west is destroyed (Pl. 20 *d*); Traquair (202–204) does not mention the other windows.

[4] The only irregularity in the masonry is in two courses of the north façade where the tiles are doubled in both horizontal and vertical joints in such a way as to give the impression of a key pattern enclosing the stone blocks in its fluctuations, an important precedent for Gastoune, where the treatment is used extensively on the south façade (*Chron. Mid.-Byz. Churches* Pl. 29, 2).

At the west door of the Karouda church was a porch, but of this only the corbels which retained the arches on either side of the door remain.[4] These are carved with a motif which recurs on the interior string-courses of the church. Very probably it was of the domed type which we know from the porches added about this time to H. Strategos and the Gardenitsa church. Of the two, that at H. Strategos is evidently the earlier. Stone is used only in the arches in the north wall, while in the Gardenitsa porch all the openings are furnished with stone arches. The dome over the porch at H. Strategos (Traquair Pl. xii 1) has an octagonal drum, windows on each of the seven exposed faces, corner shafts and a level cornice. The latter feature it possibly owes to the dome over the church proper; at the same time it is worth remembering that in the Athenian circuit the dome with level cornice enjoyed a new popularity from the last decade of the eleventh century.[5] On general architectural grounds the porch belongs to the early years of the twelfth century; its carved detail fits comfortably into that period.[6]

The Gardenitsa porch (Traquair Pl. xii 2), though it shews some advance in the matter of stone dressings, yet retains the brick pattern technique of the church on to which it is built. Among figures which reproduce the Cufic motifs of the apse there is one where each vertical member is cut with a series of notches, such as are found in the patterns of the Ligourio church but, to my knowledge, nowhere else.[7] This similarity in detail attests proximity in date. The Ligourio church dates from the close of the eleventh century; the Gardenitsa porch can therefore hardly be placed later than the first quarter of the twelfth.

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[1] Stone door dressings are found in earlier churches but are there confined to jambs and lintels, *e.g.* Vamvaka (Pl. 19 *a*).

[2] The plaster face above the arching cornice and the flat conical roof are, of course, later work.

[3] South gable window (Ἐφημ. 1902, 55 fig. 3). I have elsewhere dated Kaisariane in the last years of the eleventh century.

[4] Traquair Pl. xii 5.

[5] First at Kaisariane, probably due to the example of Daphni, without the corner shafts; later, with shafts, at Amphissa and Ioannes Kynegos.

[6] The craftsman who worked on the corbels of the porch seems to have been responsible at the same time for repairs to the west door and to the templon, to judge by the uniformity of detail which connects them.

[7] *Chron. Mid.-Byz. Churches*, 109 fig. 3 (north façade). This Ligourio brick ornament stands in the same imitative relationship to the eleventh-century Athenian tradition as the patterns in the Gardenitsa porch do to the earlier examples of the technique in Mani.

During the twelfth century the contact with the North-Peloponnesian-Athenian circuit is if anything closer than before. The materials there used—brick and poros stone—are continually imported and local characteristics are less in evidence. Mani was indeed noticeably retentive of the simple-distyle type in preference to the complex disposition which was in this period well established both in the Peloponnese (Argolis) and Central Greece (Sagmata). But this was a tendency common to all the outlying districts[1] and, for smaller churches, not unknown in Attica (Omorphe Ekklesia). Nor can the simple-tetrastyle type so prevalent in Mani during the second half of the century be explained as an inexpert version of the complex form; for not only is the latter rendered with competence in two Mani churches, but also the simple-tetrastyle disposition is by no means confined to the peninsula.[2] In the course of the century both in architectural detail and building technique the retrospective tendency wanes and the contact with the main centres of the Greek School is proportionately strengthened. The typological evidence, for what it is worth,[3] does not militate against this judgment.

The basilican chapel of H. Ioannes at Pyrgos presents a problem, for it was built at a time when the domical types enjoyed full popularity. In the majority of the twelfth-century churches so complete was the break with the indigenous tradition that in the case of H. Ioannes dependence on that tradition is by no means certain. Is it to rank as a derivative of the primitive chapels, or is its affinity with that group to be regarded as fortuitous and its basilical form as merely reflecting a pusillanimous disposition in its builders? The latter inference has this to recommend it: that setting the plan aside, in all other respects the church conforms with its contemporaries. On the other hand, if the affinity is pressed and the remote ancestry is claimed, it must be remembered that it is still the only monument of its time which reverts to the indigenous tradition in any marked degree.

In the sphere of decorative technique the return to favour of the tile diaper in the course of the twelfth century is another phenomenon whose genesis is a matter for speculation. This type of façade ornament, which seems to have been a characteristic of tenth-century architecture throughout the Balkan peninsula, may have been introduced to Mani at an early date. Assuredly the earliest of the surviving churches where the technique is used—the Metamorphosis at Koutéphare—has affinity with

[1] Phocis (Amphissa), Elis (Gastoune) and Messenia (Samari).

[2] Example at Athens in the Metamorphosis church (Εὑρετήριον I 75 fig. 71).

[3] For the fallibility of the typological criterion cf. *Chron. Mid.-Byz. Churches* 100.

much earlier buildings. What is certain is that if this and the several twelfth-century examples of the technique do not derive from earlier Mani prototypes, their parentage must be sought in South Peloponnesian churches; for in the northern circuit where monuments are far more plentiful the tile diaper is practically unknown.

The three later churches where the technique is found belong to the middle of the twelfth century and stand in no uncertain relation to each other. H. Nikolaos at Ochiá, the earliest, retains the simple-distyle disposition of the early eleventh-century churches and like them lacks the partition between Narthex and Naos. H. Georgios near Kytta belongs to the simple-tetrastyle group and shews both greater mastery of decorative technique and an advance in architectural detail. The Eremos church falls between the two, owing its plan entirely to Ochiá and sharing a more elaborate façade treatment with the Kytta church. At both Eremos and Kytta grouped windows are used through the building, the dome alone excepted, and in both the semi-arch is used,[1] features which characterise the later Argolis churches. Both in addition have elaborate diapers. Below the diaper band of the Kytta church a step-pattern brick frieze runs round the building (fig. 3). This is the only such frieze in Mani and cannot but be due to the example of contemporary churches to the north.

The simple-tetrastyle type was repeated in two less elaborate churches. One of these, H. Demetrios at Platsa in North Mani, has been mutilated, the dome and the western part being lost; but enough remains to allow us with some confidence to place it in the later part of the twelfth century. The three apses, the anta-projections between them and the Bema window [2] all correspond to these features in the Kytta church. The ‘ marble floor with an inlaid border ’ is evidently analogous to the pavements framed with *opus sectile* which are found in South-Peloponnesian churches of the twelfth century.[3] Secondly, Vlachérna. For dating, its inaccurate setting-out and the plain stone façades, which may reflect the indigenous tradition, are both equivocal. But the stone furniture of all openings, the dome windows alone excepted, requires a date late in the twelfth century. The schematic character of its carved detail, some of which is analogous to the marbles of the Kytta church and all of which is cut in the champlevé technique, points very definitely in the same direction.

[1] Note the position at Eremos: at cill level on either side, as in the west gable at Merbaka (*A.M.* 1909 Pl. x 6), thus reproducing the form but without fulfilling the function of the earlier examples. The latter (H. Petros and Vamvaka in Mani, in Athens the Kapnikarea Exo-narthex) are all above the springing level of the window arches and are accommodated to the outline of the gable in such a way as to leave no doubt of the origination of the motif as a filling-ornament.

[2] Cf. Traquair 204, ‘ The central apse has a double arched window.’ I understand a grouped window with two lights. I have not seen the church.

[3] Samari in Messenia, H. Sophia at Monemvasia.

In the thirteenth century the disturbed condition of Greece which followed the Frankish annexation is reflected in Mani. For though the peninsula remained in a state of precarious independence until its conquest by William Villehardouin in 1248, and though church-building continued up to that date, the dislocation of normal communications and trade had its repercussion on the local architecture. H. Ioannes at Keria, the one domed church which we may assign without hesitation to this period, is characterised by a strange irregularity of masonry and by almost complete dependence on earlier structures for its building material (Pl. 21 *d*). Here if in no other case the stone slabs on the roofs may with some certainty be regarded as the original covering. In other respects this is an accurate rendering of the complex-tetrastyle type. Its elongated proportions, as compared with the Karouda church, and the partition between Naos and Narthex, couple it closely with the normal examples in the northern circuit. Indeed, only in the absence of any articulation of the eastern vaults at the point of junction of the triple sanctuary with the Naos does it fall short of the orthodox complex form.[1] Two features alone relate the church to the Mani tradition: the marble dome ties and, secondly, the fact that there are not three doors leading from the Narthex to the Naos but one only. For the rest it is as fair a representative of Greek church-building in the first half of the thirteenth century as can be found. The type and features of twelfth-century architecture [2] are reproduced, but without the high quality of workmanship with which they are usually associated nor, on the other hand, are the characteristics of Late Byzantine architecture yet in evidence.

In the period following the Latin conquest what little building there was in Mani was both devoid of any local individuality and lacking in architectural distinction. The coarse rubble masonry with occasional bands of reticulated tilework [3] is found in late churches throughout Greece. The simpler plan-types are preferred and in the smaller churches such as H. Paraskeve at Platsa the dome is replaced by a transverse barrel-vault. Though this type of building is well known both in Crete and Epirus and in all the intervening country, the form may well have spread from a single centre; as yet its origin is obscure. In this connection it is important to bear in mind the Middle-Byzantine precedent of H. Elias at Abysola (Pl. 21 *c*). Here a small domical lantern is saddled on a narrow transverse vault without any internal support. There can be little doubt that this church belongs to the period prior to the Frankish annexation. The regularity of the masonry and the carefully finished stone dressings of the west door and window preclude any date after the first decade of the thirteenth century. H. Elias thus antedates by some forty years the earliest dated example of the transverse vaulted cell[1] and we might expect it to throw some light on the evolution of the type. Its unique disposition provokes the speculation that the normal transverse vaulted cell may have derived from the cruciform church by a process of diminution and simplification. In this view H. Elias, which has abolished the supports and corner compartments of the cruciform disposition but has retained its dome, represents a crucial stage in the metamorphosis.

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[1] Cf. Millet *École grecque* 55–57. It should be noted that several Attic churches also lack this subtlety.

[2] Note in addition to Traquair's brief description (190) that the gable windows are of the two-light grouped type.

[3] Tiles embedded in the mortar so as to form with their exposed edges a diaper of squares set diagonally. A technique which takes the place of and probably derives from the tile revetments of the earlier churches.

The few Late-Byzantine churches in Mani are small in size and of meagre architectural interest. They form a convenient stopping-point for this inquiry, bringing us to a period when the work of the Greek School is better represented elsewhere both in point of the number and scale of the monuments and of their greater archaeological significance.

CONCLUSION.

In conclusion a word as to the historical position of the Mani group as a whole. The compromise between the basilican and domed types is not confined to the peninsula and it can be shewn that throughout Greece the basilica overlapped the introduction of the domed church. Yet if Athens, Corinth and Thebes—the seats of the imperial governors—are accepted as the centres of the Greek School, within its confines the South Peloponnese must be distinguished as a separate entity, provincial and conservative. It was from this province rather than the Central School that the architecture of the Mistra Despotate derived. The basilica and rudimentary distyle churches of Mistra, the circular domes and tile revetments cannot be reconciled with the developed *complex* churches of Argolis and Central Greece in which these features are virtually unknown. But it was just such primitive characteristics and early decorative techniques which were preserved in Mani. Again, Maina was one of the three Laconian fortresses whose surrender to Michael Palaeologos in 1262 marked the re-establishment of the Byzantines in the Peloponnese. Their offensive was consequently directed from the south-east through Laconia, and when the permanent seat of the Despot was established at Mistra the builders of the new capital inevitably sought their models in the same country. Millet has suggested that H. Theodoroi at Mistra is inspired by H. Sophia at Monemvasia; the contributions of Mani are no less in evidence. So, after more than three centuries, Mani repaid her debt to Sparta for the ministrations of Nikon and his fellow missionaries.

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[1] H. Trias at Kranidi in Argolis; published by Soteriou in 'Επετηρὶς 'Ετ. Βυζ. Σπουδῶν Γ', 1926, 193 ff. Plan and section of the Abysola church in Traquair, pl. xv.

Chronological and Typological Table.

A.D.	*Church.*	*Type.*	*Illustrations.*	
			Megaw.	*Traquair.*
	Primitive Chapels	B	—	—
	(Platsa, H. Nikolaos)	B	—	Pl. xv; Fig. 2.
900				
	Kako Vouno, Asomatoi	⊞E	—	Pls. xi, xiii 1, xvi.
1000				
	Boularioi, H. Strategos	⊞S2	—	Pls. xi, xii 1, xvi.
	Near Pyrgos, H. Petros	+	Pl. 20 *a.*	Pls. xi, xiv 2.
	Gardenitsa, H. Soter	⊞S2	Pls. 19 *c*, 20 *b.*	Pls. xi, xii 2.
1050				
	Vamvaka, H. Theodoros	⊞S2	Pls. 18, 19 *a*, *b*; Figs. 1, 2.	Pl. xvi.
	Glezou, Taxiarchai	⊞S2	Pls. 20 *c*, 21 *a.*	—
	(Koutéphare, Metamorph.)	⊞S4	Pl. 20 *d.*	Pl. xv.
	Karouda, Taxiarchai	⊞C4	—	Pls. xi, xii 5; Fig. 4.
1100				
	Boularioi, H. Strategos	*Porch*	—	Pl. xii 1.
	Gardenitsa, H. Soter	*Porch*	—	Pl. xii 2.
	Pyrgos, H. Ioannes	B	—	—
	Ochiá, N. Nikolaos	⊞S2	Pl. 21 *b.*	Pls. xii 4, xiii 3, xvi.
1150				
	Eremos, H. Varvara	⊞S2	Pl. 17; Fig. 4.	—
	Near Kytta, H. Georgios—Sergius and Bacchus	⊞S4	Pl. 19 *d*; Fig. 3.	Pls. xi, xiii 4, xiv 1, xvi; Fig. 3.
	(Platsa, H. Demetrios)	⊞S4	—	Pls. xv, xvii 3.
	Near Mezapo, Vlachérna	⊞S4	Figs. 5, 6.	—
1200				
	(Abysola, H. Elias)	Bt	Pl. 21 *c.*	Pl. xv.
	Keria, H. Ioannes	⊞C4	Pl. 21 *d.*	Pl. xi.
1250				
	(Koumani, H. Anargyroi)	⊞	—	Pls. xiv 3, xv.
	(Platsa, H. Paraskeve)	Bt	—	Pls. xiv 5, xv.
	Dryalon, H. Georgios	*Belfry*	—	Pls. xi, xii 3.

B	Basilica.	⊞E	Early Cruciform.
Bt	Transverse-vault Basilica.	⊞S2	Simple-distyle Cruciform.
+	Free Cross.	⊞S4	Simple-tetrastyle Cruciform.
⊞	Cross in Square.	⊞C4	Complex-tetrastyle Cruciform.

The churches in round brackets I have not seen; they are all in North Mani.

H. Megaw.

THE DATE OF H. THEODOROI AT ATHENS

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INTRODUCTORY.

In my study on the chronology of Middle-Byzantine churches after considering the contrary evidence I accepted the dated inscription in the west front of H. Theodoroi at Athens as a record of the erection of the present building.[1] In an additional note reference was made to an article by Xyngopoulos, published after my own had gone to press.[2] To support his dating of the church in the twelfth century he introduces new arguments which I suggested demanded a re-examination of the evidence. More recently Laurent has dealt conclusively with some of the points in connection with the inscriptions raised by the Greek scholar.[3] But, while his verdict on their content may be accepted with confidence, for the archaeologist the question is not yet closed. Laurent's main theses are that in the first place the date on the smaller stone should be reckoned by the Byzantine era and interpreted as 1049,[4] and, secondly, that the metrical inscription should be attributed to the eleventh century, if not earlier, in preference to the twelfth.[5] However, of the relation of the two stones to one another and to the church into which they are built he speaks with less conviction. He favours the *prima facie* view that the present building was erected by Kalomalos in 1049, but, if the church is shewn on stylistic grounds to be of later date, he is prepared to dissociate both the dated and the metrical inscription from the foundation and to place the latter in the tenth century or even earlier (p. 82). After the precision and authority of his earlier pages this conclusion is disappointingly vague and leaves the date of the church as uncertain as ever. I propose here to restate the stylistic evidence, reconcile this with Laurent's scholarly interpretation of the inscriptions and deduce their true relationship to the church and to each other.

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[1] *The Chronology of Some Middle-Byzantine Churches* (*B.S.A.* xxxii) 96–97.

[2] Αἱ Ἐπιγραφαὶ τοῦ Ναοῦ τῶν Ἁγίων Θεοδώρων ἐν Ἀθήναις (Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑτ. Βυζ. Σπουδῶν 10, 1933, 450 ff.).

[3] V. Laurent *Nicholas Kalomalos et l'église des Saints Théodores à Athènes* (Ἑλληνικά 7, 1934, 72 ff.).

[4] He points out a mathematical error which led Xyngopoulos to reckon by the Alexandrian system. I was persuaded by Xyngopoulos' conviction into accepting his conclusion without confirming his method.

[5] He adduces the philological evidence and the probability that the office of Spatharocandidatos, which Kalomalos held, disappeared with the eleventh century. This is convincing and the evidence of epigraphic style, which he does not consider, is equally conclusive.

The Evidence of Style.

Of the position of H. Theodoroi in the sequence of Athenian churches there can be no doubt. By the absence of embedded brick patterns it is shewn to be later than the Kapnikarea and the Exo-narthex of the same church, which were the last important Athenian buildings on which the technique was used. On the other hand, the fact that none of the windows is dressed in stone is a safe indication that it antedates those twelfth-century churches where that treatment is found. The retention of the Cufic brick ornament in the tympana relates the church to the early patterned group and it would seem to lie between that group and Daphni, where there is only one tympanum filling of this type. The window forms suggest the same relationship: the arcade type found at the Panagia Lykodemou and the Kapnikarea in conjunction with the grouped form is wanting in H. Theodoroi, while the semi-arches in the south and west gables mark an advance on those of the Kapnikarea Exo-narthex; again from H. Theodoroi to Daphni there is similar progress, for the brick arch to the windows of the former in some cases does not extend below capital level, whereas at Daphni the windows are all completely framed and in addition a more developed triple form is introduced.

The relative chronology of these churches is surely no longer in doubt.[1] It is less easy to arrive at an absolute dating as none of them is fixed accurately by external evidence. If, however, H. Theodoroi is placed in the twelfth century, the date of Daphni, its stylistic successor, must be brought down to some later year in that century, which no one would be prepared to do. On the other hand, the implications of advancing H. Theodoroi to the first half of the eleventh century are no less serious. The embedded pattern technique would in that case have flourished, declined and disappeared within forty years of its first appearance, and in other respects a long stylistic evolution would have to be telescoped into an impossibly short space of time. Daphni would have to be brought back to the middle, the Panagia Lykodemou to the early years of the century. In both cases this would be inconsistent with the indications of the external evidence; for there is a strong probability that Daphni dates from about the year 1080,[2] and as Stephanos the first patron

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[1] Lykodemou—Kapnikarea—K. Exo-narthex—Theodoroi—Daphni.

[2] *Chron. Mid.-Byz. Churches* 93–94.

(πρωτ(ο)κτ(ή)τωρ) of the Panagia Lykodemou died in 1044 it would be rash to place its erection before 1030.[1]

To date H. Theodoroi either in the first half of the eleventh or in the twelfth century is at variance both with indications of style and with the external evidence. One might be justified in over-riding the dictates either of stylistic, documentary or epigraphic evidence in a case where none is very precise, but one can hardly ignore all three when they point in the same direction. For the date of the church we are therefore left with no possible alternative to the second half of the eleventh century. Further, if the dates *circa* 1035 for the Panagia Lykodemou and *circa* 1080 are accepted and if we allow a reasonable interval to represent the stylistic advance in the intervening buildings we arrive at the date *circa* 1070 for the erection of the church.[2]

This dating might be considered open to dispute if we did not possess a valuable check in the church of H. Theodoros at Vamvaka in Mani dated with certainty to the year 1075.[3] There is ample evidence in this church that its builders were conversant with the character of contemporary architecture to the north, and its affinity with the Athenian church speaks with full force. Here are the same grouped windows of two lights, some in which the enclosing arch extends only to capital level,[4] while in others the brickwork is carried down to the cill.[5] In both churches we find the semi-arch motif at the same stage of its development—a small semicircle high on either side of the window—while, finally, the doors of both are similarly arched in brick. Vamvaka, it is true, has not completely discarded the embedded pattern, but this is paralleled in the Athenian church by the retention of the Cufic ornament in the tympana. This stylistic propinquity of a building of 1075 is a valuable corroboration of our dating of the Athenian church.

H. Theodoroi has affinity with another church in Mani, at Karouda, not dated but datable by comparison with Vamvaka to the last years

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[1] Other ecclesiastical titles occur in the inscriptions, λειτουργός (nos. 5 and 6) and ἱε(ρεύς) (no. 8), and evidently the laymen and women whose names are here recorded also had a close connection with the church. It is more than likely that they contributed towards its erection and in any case they were among its first supporters. It is therefore significant that of the twelve dated epitaphs that of Stephanos is the earliest, all the others, with one exception, falling between the years 1051 and 1071. This is at least a further indication that at the time of his death (1044) the church had not long been completed. Cf. Antonin, *O Drevnikh Kristianskikh Naspis'ach v Afinakh* (St. Petersburg, 1874) 1 ff. and pl. iii ff.; Millet *L'École grecque* 7.

[2]

Lykodemou	*c.* 1035.	Kapnikarea	*c.* 1050.	Theodoroi	*c.* 1070.
Aikaterine	*c.* 1045.	Exo-narthex	*c.* 1060.	Daphni	*c.* 1080.

[3] Megaw *Byz. Architecture in Mani supra* 139 ff.

[4] Vamvaka, north and south gables; Athens, apses and dome.

[5] Vamvaka, west gable; Athens, gables and north and south windows of Narthex.

of the eleventh century.[1] Here are two-light grouped windows in the north and south walls of the Narthex and also under the arching cornice of the dome. In no other Mani church are such windows found in those positions, nor, outside Mani, are they found together in any church but H. Theodoroi.[2] This is a fairly reliable indication that the Karouda church derives from that in Athens and must be close to it in date. Further, as it seems reasonably certain that the Mani church belongs to the last decade of the eleventh century, H. Theodoroi, to whose priority we may set an outer limit of thirty years, appears to be later than 1060.

A comparison with the churches in Mani, the most representative series outside Athens and just at this period reliably documented by the Vamvaka inscription, has thus provided a satisfactory confirmation of the dating of the Athenian church to about the year 1070.

The Inscriptions.

So much for the evidence of style; it is homogeneous and in the present state of our knowledge irrefutable. Such is not the case with the inscriptions. Their evidence is equivocal and the conclusions which scholars have reached on the subject are contradictory. Are they to be considered contemporary? [3] In other inscriptions where the text and date are indubitably connected both are cut on a single stone; is this sufficient warrant for dissociating the two in the present case? [4] If it is, then, accepting the date 1049 for the smaller, is the metrical inscription later as Xyngopoulos maintains or earlier as Laurent is in certain circumstances prepared to believe? [5] Again, if, as has been suggested, the dated stone was first introduced into the façade about the year 1840,[6] is one justified in assuming that its neighbour has been there since the eleventh century?

With this perplexing uncertainty of interpretation the archaeologist naturally turns from the inscriptions to the stylistic approach and is inclined to neglect the former altogether. If his aim is to date the church he is taking the only safe course. But having had the opportunity of examining the inscriptions in their architectural context I am tempted to offer one or two observations in the belief that these will facilitate a reconciliation of the divergent evidence and a settlement of the problems it has raised.

Konstantopoulos suggested that the dated stone was a later insertion. He argues from the fact that Chandler copied the Kalomalos inscription only,[1] and from a tradition which Lambros related according to which the latter was dislodged by gunfire during the War of Independence.[2] When it was replaced, probably during the repairs of 1840, the first two of the fragments into which it was broken were set in the wrong order.[3] To Xyngopoulos also (*op. cit.* 453) it seems very probable that the dated stone was found in the neighbourhood of the church at this time and was built in with the larger inscription. A careful examination of the stones has not confirmed this hypothesis. The first two fragments of the Kalomalos inscription have been rearranged in their correct order [4] and are held by iron clamps; the third has not been disturbed but remains set in the mortar of 1840. This is bluish in colour and roughly pointed. In contrast the dated stone is set in pink mortar carefully finished and with a considerable admixture of powdered brick. Similar mortar is used in the neighbouring courses and in the brickwork of the window above save where occasional fissures have been filled with mortar of a different type, readily distinguishable.

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[1] Cf. *Byz. Architecture in Mani, supra* 156–157.

[2] The dome windows of Hagia Mone and Merbaka are also double, but the cornices of these Argolis churches being horizontal they are not strictly comparable, while their stone window-dressings put them in quite a different class.

[3] Megaw *B.S.A.* xxxii 97; Laurent *op. cit.* 81.

[4] Xyngopoulos *op. cit.* 451.

[5] *Op. cit.* 82.

[6] Konstantopoulos *Journ. Int. d'Archéol. Numismatique* II (1899) 127; Xyngopoulos *op. cit.* 453.

The dated stone was therefore set in the gable at the time of its erection. That this is a part, not of a restoration,[5] but of the original structure is attested by the style of the bowl built into the tympanum of the window. This is unfortunately much damaged but enough remains to indicate the technique used, if not the pattern. The clay is covered with an even white slip through which the design is cut in fine incisions; the glaze is pale yellow and there is no additional colour. Pottery of this type is now known definitely to date as early as the eleventh century. Complete plates have been found at Corinth [6] in association with coins of Constantine IX (1042–1055) and Nicephorus III (1078–1081), and the base of another at Thebes [7] with a coin of the latter emperor.

I may therefore repeat with additional emphasis my contention that the two inscriptions were built into the church contemporaneously and at the time of its erection, the conclusion already reached by considering the design of the gable, which is adjusted not to any one of the inscriptions but to both considered together as forming a single panel

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[1] *Inscriptiones Antiquae* (Oxford, 1774) 58, xlix. His copy gives ΚΑΛΟΜΑΛΟΣ which settles the dispute as to the proper restoration of the name, of which only the first four letters survive.

[2] Lambros Σημείωσις περὶ τῆς ἐν Ἀθήναις ἐκκλησίας τῶν Ἁγίων Θεοδώρων (Παρνασσός II, 1878, 70–73).

[3] Hence Pittakis' curious version: Ἐφημ. 38 (1854) no. 2447.

[4] Probably before 1889 when Neroutsos published it correctly and complete for the first time (Δελτ. Ἱστ Ἐθν. Ἑτ. III 94).

[5] Constantinides (Ἱστορία τῶν Ἀθηνῶν, Athens, 1876, 295) claimed that the church was restored in 1558. He arrived at that year, as Lambros has pointed out, by mistaking the first letter of the date on the small stone and reckoning it from the Creation.

[6] *A.J.A.* xxxiii (1929) 534 fig. 8.

[7] Δελτ. 3 (1917) 206 fig. 150, 6.

(*B.S.A.* xxxii 96). With 1049 fixed as the date of the smaller stone and *circa* 1070 as the *terminus ante quem* for the larger it remains to be determined whether or not the two are contemporary and interdependent. Xyngopoulos' argument cannot be ignored: that where dated inscriptions are found the date either precedes or, more usually, follows the main text but is always cut on the same stone. Again, in view of the comparative roughness of the lettering on the smaller stone the two inscriptions cannot have been cut by the same hand.

There is then indication, if not absolute proof, that there is no connection between the two inscriptions. In this case there is a final question to settle: is the metrical inscription anterior to the dated stone, as Laurent believes,[1] or later? I am forced to conclude that it is later and refers to the building of the present church about the year 1070 on two accounts. By the fact that it was evidently cut for its present position, and secondly by the accordance of the content of the inscription with the character of the present building. In the first place the course in which the inscriptions are set is similar in depth to those above and below. The Kalomalos inscription fits exactly and, allowing for the damage it suffered last century, has a regular rectangular outline. By contrast the smaller stone does not fit its present position; it is only three-quarters of the necessary height, the interspace being filled with brick, while in outline it is very irregular.[2] This indicates very definitely that the larger stone was cut for its present position but not the smaller. The content of Kalomalos' inscription confirms this view. We are told that his church replaced another which was . . . καὶ μικρ)ὸν καὶ πήλινον καὶ σαθρὸν λίαν. Now there are three separate indications that the present church was not the first on the site. The plan is a primitive type such as would be expected in churches of the ninth or tenth century and seems to have been determined in this case by the disposition of the foundation of an earlier church. Secondly, the low podium at the base of the south wall, but not in alignment with it, being about 15 cms. outside the face of the wall at the west end but only 2 cms. at the east; this evidently represents the position and direction of the south wall of an earlier building, a defect in whose setting-out has been remedied in the present church. Finally, the fact that there is a lower pavement level 1½ metres below that now used.[3]

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[1] *Op. cit.* 18: ' l'inscription en litige ne peut très vraisemblement pas être postérieure au X^{e} siècle.'

[2] This is surely final proof that the dated stone does not refer to the present church. Were it so a regular rectangular panel would certainly have been cut to fill exactly the space it was to occupy. The stone was in a damaged condition when it was built in, since when it has not been disturbed.

[3] Lambros *op. cit.* 72.

Conclusion.

One may therefore confidently conclude that the church of H. Theodoroi is the work of Kalomalos recorded in the metrical inscription in its west gable, which is thus fixed by the architectural style of the building to about the year 1070. Why the earlier dated stone was built in and what its previous context was are questions which cannot be answered with any certainty. If Xyngopoulos' claim that it is the beginning of an epitaph (*op. cit.* 453) is accepted, one problem is solved by rendering the other more difficult of solution. Some connection with the earlier church seems probable, but 1049 cannot for obvious reasons be regarded as the date of its erection. It is possible that we have here a record of some repair which was effected in 1049 and preserved the church for another twenty years. We may tabulate this conclusion as follows:

c. 900	First church built.
(1049	First church repaired)
c. 1070	Present church built by Kalomalos.

In my *Chronology* I placed H. Theodoroi late in the third quarter of the eleventh century (*B.S.A.* xxxii 129). I was tempted into accepting Xyngopoulos' interpretation of the dated stone and into regarding it as contemporary with the church because the year 1065 seemed to accord well with the stylistic evidence. That interpretation is now proved false but my dating of the church and the *Chronology* as a whole are not affected. I would contend that my dating of the church was right, though in one respect for the wrong reason.

H. Megaw.

PROLEGOMENA TO THE STUDY OF GREEK COMMERCE WITH ITALY, SICILY AND FRANCE IN THE EIGHTH AND SEVENTH CENTURIES B.C.

(Plates 22–35)

Note: Nearly all the vases from Western sites here discussed are figured in Pls. 22–35, where for the sake of convenience they are continuously numbered from 1 to 99. References to tnese vases are given without any further specification than the serial number, *e.g.* 'No. 35.'

The date of the first contact of the Greeks with the Western Mediterranean is very difficult to determine from literary sources. It is as old as the *Theogony* [1] and probably as old as the *Odyssey*; [2] but there is, as yet, no general agreement as to the date of either of these sources. Many historians still assume that it began, if not with the foundation of the Greek colonies in Sicily, at least with that of Cumae. These colonies, they maintain, were planted solely as a means of solving the problem of over-population in old Greece, in areas suitable for the production of corn, and without commercial intent.[3] Whence came the necessary geographical knowledge and how the sites were chosen is seldom clearly stated, if it is stated at all. We are left with vague suggestions such as a preliminary expedition of exploration or 'Traditional Survival' of geographical knowledge based on Minoan, Mycenaean and *Nostoi* voyages, any explanation, in fact, that will save the historian from the natural assumption that the western colonies were planted in areas previously reached by *Greek* commercial enterprise.

For many of the Hasebroek school of thought Greek trade in the archaic period was utterly unimportant and had little or no influence on the course of Greek history. At the most it was an accidental result of overseas expansion. Trade followed the flag. Colonisation created trade; not trade colonisation.

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[1] Sinclair, *Hesiod*, pp. xxxvii, xxxviii note 1, argues for the *Theogony* as a genuine work of Hesiod. However this may be, to calculate the date of the *Theogony* from the geographical knowledge of the West shewn by that poem, on the assumption that this knowledge must be later than the foundation of the Greek colonies in the West, is to beg the whole question. The Western Geography of the *Theogony* consists of names of islands, mountains and peoples, not of Greek colonies.

[2] It is possible that the Sicel and Sicily passages of the *Odyssey* may reflect Minoan-Mycenaean contacts with South Italy and Sicily, for which there is good archaeological evidence. Personally I do not think this view much more probable than the old one which dated those passages as later than the foundation of Naxos. The *Odyssey* passages seem to me to reflect ninth- and eighth-century geographical knowledge which was the result of a ninth- and eighth-century trade with the West.

[3] *E.g.* Gwynn, *J.H.S.* xxxviii 88.

In actual fact Greek overseas trade is as old as the father of Hesiod [1] if not as old as the *Odyssey*. In Hesiod's day it was a means of livelihood, even in agricultural Boeotia. It is commerce,[2] not emigration, that is for Hesiod the alternative to sound farming, and it must have been the experience of merchant venturers that gave to the author of the *Theogony* [3] his knowledge of the geography of the West. Agrios and Latinos, the sons of Circe and Odysseus, rule over all the famed Etruscans far off in the midst of the holy isles. Aethiopians, Scythians and Ligurians are the dwellers at the ends of the earth. More definite are the mentions of Etna, Ortygia and Cape Pelorus; [4] Etna the landmark on the westward voyage to Sicily, Ortygia the landfall and port for trading with the Sicels, then northwards to the Straits, and so into the Tyrrhenian sea and a region where geography is more vague, Latium, Etruria and, perhaps, Liguria.

Of the existence and date of this early Greek commerce with the West we have the following concrete, archaeological evidence. Greek Geometric pottery and imitations of it of a date earlier than that of the oldest colonial burials at Syracuse have been found on no less than twenty-eight different sites in Italy, Sicily and France, from Apulia to Marseilles.

Some of this evidence has long been known to Greek archaeologists. Most, if not all, of it has been neglected by Greek historians, many of whom seem to have a horror of archaeological evidence and a remarkable affection for such *a priori* explanations as 'Phoenician Thalassocracies' and the 'Mare Clausum.' [5]

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[1] Hesiod, *Works and Days* 631 ff.

[2] *Ibid.* 646–7; 618 ff.

[3] See note 1.

[4] Etna, Ortygia, Etruscans: Strabo i 23, 'Hesiod' Oxy. Pap. 1358, Fr. 2, 25. Cape Pelorus: Diod. IV. 85. Agrios and Latinos: 'Hesiod' *Theogony* 1011. Ligurians: Strabo VII 300, but Libyans in 'Hesiod' Oxy. Pap. 1358, Fr. 2, 15. I can see no reason for preferring the reading of the papyrus to that of Strabo.

[5] I suppose the argument of 'Phoenician Carriers' of Greek goods as an explanation of the presence of pre-colonisation Greek pottery in the West must be met. If these Greek Geometric pots were carried to the West by Phoenician ships we should expect to find in the graves which contain them at least some definite trace of Oriental wares. There are, in fact, a few scarabs in the Sicel graves and a few at Canale. Nothing else can be referred to the Orient except, perhaps, what is just possibly a Phoenician strain in some of the pottery from the Sicel graves discussed below.

(In parenthesis it is perhaps worth saying, since some historians regard all scarabs as 'datable documents,' that the majority of scarabs of this period can neither be dated nor referred to any definite part of the Orient. Nor does their presence in Greek and Barbarian graves prove that those graves are later than the foundation of Naucratis;

But the time has surely come when historians can no longer afford to adopt a superior attitude towards the archaeology and archaeological chronology of this period and to maintain that purely ‘ historical ’ reconstructions of the eighth and seventh centuries B.C. based, as they are, on a meagre, fragmentary and often late literary tradition, are not in need of contemporary archaeological evidence, however difficult to interpret. The distribution of Greek pottery is, in fact, often the only contemporary evidence of Greek commerce that has come down to us, and for the eighth, seventh and early sixth centuries is far better evidence of the character and extent of that commerce than the statements of the fourth-century Orators, or even inferences drawn from Herodotus and Thucydides.

The Bücher–Hasebroek hypothesis of the ‘ Travelling Potter,’ which nowadays is used by many historians as an explanation of their neglect of archaeology, does not affect the historical validity of this archaeological evidence for pre-colonisation contact with the West. There are, as we shall see, some traces of the activity of Greek ‘ Resident ’ (rather than ‘ Travelling ’) potters in Etruria in this and in the post-colonisation period, and also among the Sicel communities; but this evidence of their activity in the pre-colonisation period proves Greek commercial contact with the West in that period just as surely as the presence of pottery which can be demonstrated to be either imported Greek, or purely Barbarian, but copied from Greek imports.[1]

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cp. the scarab finds from Eleusis, the Argive Heraeum, Knossos, Orthia, and, above all, the Heraeum at Perachora.)

Many of the Oriental imports in eighth-century Etruria are not any more necessarily Phoenician than Lydian or East Greek (cf. the eighth-century Lydian (?) Lydion from Vulci discussed below, p. 193), and the theory of Phoenician carriers leaves the activity of Greek ‘ Resident Potters ’ in Etruria in the eighth century unexplained and inexplicable.

In general there is very little indeed of the period *c.* 800 to *c.* 735 B.C. in Italy and Sicily that can be attributed to the Phoenicians with any sort of probability and I can see no archaeological reason why they should be given the credit of having carried the Greek Geometric pottery of the eighth century to the West. To interpret the archaeological evidence we are about to discuss by an appeal to ‘ Phoenician Thalassocracy ’ and ‘ Phoenician Carriers ’ will, of course, save trouble and doubtless thus commend itself to some historians; but it is really like an appeal to the Absolute of Schelling for an explanation of metaphysical phenomena, an appeal to the night in which all cows are black.

[1] As a general explanation of the distribution of Greek pottery in Greek settlements in the post-colonisation period the ‘ Travelling Potter ’ hypothesis does not deserve serious refutation. ‘ Bücher’s discussion of this question has been wholly ignored by archaeologists ’ (Hasebroek, Macgregor-Fraser translation, 50, n. 4)—a fact significant enough in itself. Are we to suppose that Clitias travelled to Gordium, painted one perfect cup there, and then, with Ergotimos, to Etruria to make the François vase—presumably carrying the distinctive Attic clay with them? The extraordinarily wide and scattered distribution of Attic Black-figure and Red-figure vases which bear the same artist’s signature, let alone attributed pieces that bear such signatures as surely as if written alphabetically, is a

But before passing to the historical conclusions that can be deduced from this evidence, I propose to examine the material archaeologically site by site. If there is any evidence for dating the pottery discussed from the circumstances of its discovery I shall state it briefly. I shall also record any authoritative attribution of the vases to a known Greek category that has been made. To these I have added, with some misgivings, a certain number of attributions of my own. In dealing with local imitations I have, where possible, indicated the Greek models from which these imitations seem to derive. For, naturally, the existence in Italy of a local Barbarian copy of a Greek eighth-century original is as good evidence of the importation of such originals as their actual discovery on Italian soil.[1]

It must, of course, be understood that the lists [2] which follow are not exhaustive. I have been forced to confine myself to vases which have

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sufficient refutation of the 'Travelling Potter' hypothesis in itself. And are we to suppose that these 'Travelling Potters' went with shiploads of the distinctive Attic or Corinthian clay? If 'No,' they must have been alchemists of no mean order to produce the same colour and texture from the clay of South Russia, Sicily, Etruria and Spain. If 'Yes,' then there was trade in bulk, to refute which the 'Travelling Potter' hypothesis was constructed. One is almost tempted to ask whether the engraved ostrich eggs of the various Etruscan cemeteries were laid by a travelling ostrich with a travelling egg engraver in attendance.

Local imitation of the better known Greek fabrics is, of course, a phenomenon perfectly well-known to archaeologists. Generally these classes are easily recognisable. In Etruria, for example, it is perhaps possible to distinguish between imported Protocorinthian, Barbarian local imitation of that fabric, and the local imitation—not always Cumaean—which is the work of a Greek artist. (We should, I think, be certain of this last class even without the literary tradition in Polybius vi 2; Dion. Hal. iii 46; Diod. viii 31; Cic. *de Rep.* ii 19–20; Livy i 34, iv 3; Pliny *N.H.* xxv, 5, 43 (12); Strabo 219, 378.) A list of local imitations of Corinthian has been compiled by Payne (*Necrocorinthia* 189–209). The phenomenon is not nearly so common nor so unrecognised by archaeologists as Hasebroek and his followers seem to suppose.

[1] It is, of course, possible, and in the case of Graeco-Siculan pottery of the Fourth Siculan period (*c.* 700 B.C. onwards) it can be regarded as certain, that local Barbarian fabrics continued to imitate Greek originals which had long passed out of fashion among the Greeks; but the fact remains that even a late seventh- or sixth-century Barbarian imitation of a Greek eighth-century original proves the importation of such an original at the time when it was still an object of commerce. Further, these local survivals of a defunct artistic tradition frequently betray their date by an eclectic adoption of contemporary forms. The Daunian, Peucetian and Messapian Schools of Geometric (with which, being all of post-colonisation date and with very little, if any, debt to eighth-century Greek Geometric, we are not concerned) are obvious examples. More important for us is the Sicel Geometric of the Fourth Siculan period which frequently betrays its date by shapes and decoration derived from contemporary seventh- and sixth-century Greek originals as well as by its association with such pottery. I have endeavoured to exclude from my lists all local pottery of seventh-century date even if it betrays a debt to eighth-century originals.

[2] It is impossible for me to make anything like due acknowledgment of the extent of my indebtedness to Mr. Payne in the archaeological section of this article.

been already published, or which I have had the opportunity to study. For example, there is, I understand, much important Geometric material from Veii, which is still unpublished, inaccessible and invisible.

I have been at some pains to exclude from my lists all Geometric pottery that could be considered as ' Italian ' in the strict sense of the word; that is to say, all pottery which is local not only in manufacture but in artistic tradition and owes no debt to the Geometric art of Greece. It is necessary to make this exclusion perfectly clear because the distinction between true ' Italian ' Geometric and local pottery under Greek influence is not always recognised. For example, in some museums in Italy, local work which plainly shews strong Greek influence is classified as ' Italian Geometric,' while Dr. Randall MacIver[1] chooses as an example of a local vase whose decoration is ' directly inspired by the art of a Greek potter ' an example (*M.A.* xxi 439) which plainly is purely Barbarian in almost every detail of its design.

I hope to deal with the subject at greater length and in more detail in the near future. But the main historical conclusion that can be derived from the material I have collected is, I think, certain. The West during the century before the foundation of Naxos received Greek imports from a variety of centres of manufacture in mainland Greece, the islands and the west coast of Asia Minor.

SOUTHERN ITALY.

Coppa Nevigata (near Manfredonia). A native settlement beginning in Neolithic and continuing through Bronze to early Iron civilisation.

In the upper strata of the site mixed with unpainted, hand-made native pottery and a few fragments of iron there were found a few sherds of painted pottery absolutely distinct in clay and technique from the native wares. Mosso describes them as Mycenaean.[2] Possibly this is true of Fig. 1, which is of refined clay with glazed brick-red paint, but the other sherds[3] from this site in the Museo Preistorico are certainly (with one possible exception) fully developed Protogeometric. It is difficult to be more precise with such scanty fragments, but both the designs (*e.g.* the superimposed triangles) and the matt black paint closely resemble the technique of the Protogeometric pottery of Knossos. That the pottery is imported Greek work of the late Protogeometric period there can be no doubt. I should hesitate to say positively that it is Cretan.

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[1] Randall MacIver *Villanovans and Early Etruscans* 169, 170. See also fig. 60 (' Dipylonic vase '), Pl. 33 and pp. 176–177. (Plate 33 contains 1. Greek imports; 2. Barbarian copies of Greek work; 3. Purely Barbarian vases.) In spite of this and other matters relating to *Greek* Archaeology in Dr. Randall MacIver's *Villanovans and Early Etruscans* and *The Iron Age in Italy* with which I entirely disagree, I feel in duty bound to acknowledge my great indebtedness to these works for my first introduction to a great portion of my material.

[2] *M.A.* xix 310.

[3] *E.g.* Fig. 2.

This evidence of very early commercial contact with an area for so long neglected by Greek colonial enterprise is peculiarly interesting. So far as we know [1] the immediate neighbourhood remained untouched even by Greek commerce for well over three hundred years after this first contact.[2]

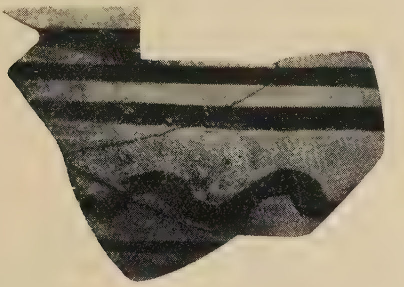

FIG. 1.—MYCENAEAN (?) SHERD FROM COPPA NEVIGATA.

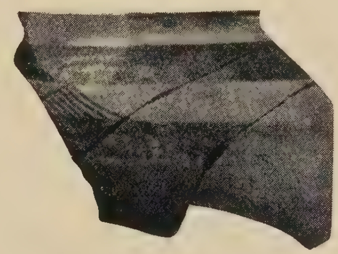

FIG. 2.—PROTOGEOMETRIC SHERD FROM COPPA NEVIGATA.

Tarentum. A mysterious cache of 350 pots was discovered in 1880 beneath a street in Taranto.[3] Over a third of these were unpainted. The rest were decorated with Geometric patterns some of which recall Protogeometric and Sub-Mycenaean types. Good clay of brownish colour. Paint black and dark brown. As at Coppa Nevigata some of the designs, *e.g.* hatched triangles and superimposed triangles, as well as a few of the shapes, seem to shew an affinity with the Protogeometric pottery of Knossos;[4] but the resemblance is far less close than in the Coppa Nevigata examples, and cannot be pressed. The pottery at Taranto is homogeneous and has many decorative elements which have no parallel in Protogeometric Greece. All that can be said with probability is that its presence at Taranto implies contact between that neighbourhood and the Aegean in the very early Iron Age.

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[1] The archaeological evidence is admittedly very incomplete and the neighbourhood but little excavated.

[2] The supposed neglect by the Greeks of the Adriatic in the Archaic period and in the fifth century, explained, as it frequently is, by geographical and climatic generalisations of dubious accuracy and validity, has been greatly over-estimated. The Attic imports to Bologna and Spina are sufficient to prove that at least during the fifth century the Northern Adriatic was anything but a 'Mare Clausum' for the Greeks. For the earlier period we have Corinthian pottery (Payne *Necrocorinthia* 189) from near Venice and Ancona and the Umbrian slave depicted on a Corinthian vase (*Ibid.* 122 note 3). Cf. Strabo 376 on Aeginetan colonies among the Umbrians and Herodotus I, 163 on Phocaean voyages in the Adriatic. The whole question of early Greek colonisation and commerce in the Adriatic is being dealt with by Mr. R. L. Beaumont, to whom I am indebted for knowledge of statistics which shew the weakness of the traditional geographical and climatic explanation.

[3] See Mayer *Apulien* Pls. 3 and 4.

[4] Cf. Payne *B.S.A.* xxix 270 nos. 7, 8 and 10.

The Greek colony at Tarentum is dated to 708 B.C. by Eusebius. Historically we have no means of determining the accuracy of this tradition other than by its harmony with the Partheniae tradition in Antiochus-Strabo [1] and the most satisfactory reconstruction of the chronology of the Messenian Wars; but the date is consistent with the archaeological evidence of the necropolis. Nothing earlier than Sub-geometric Protocorinthian of the Ovoid Aryballus period [2] has been found in any of the graves. Consequently this Taranto find antedates the foundation of the colony by a very long period.

There is nothing to be gained by connecting this cache of Protogeometric pottery with the tradition in Herodotus and Strabo [3] of Minos' expedition to the West. Tarentum, like certain sites in Sicily, was in contact with the Aegean world in the Minoan-Mycenaean period, as is shewn by some of the pottery from the Scoglio del Tonno [4] find, and the Minos story, with such chronological indications as Herodotus gives, harmonises far better with the Mycenaean than with the Protogeometric period.

Locri (Nos. 1–24, Pls. 22, 23). The cemeteries of Canale, Janchina, Patariti, Scorciabove, a complex of villages close together on the hills above the Fiumara di Gerace opposite Locri. The evidence from this site is peculiarly valuable and very significant. It comes from an official excavation, which has been well published, and is based on tomb-groups, not stratification. For the details of these groups I must refer the reader to *M.A.* xxxi. Here I shall state briefly the contents of four tombs which may be taken as representative of the whole series of cemeteries:

Tomb 26. 2 Greek Geometric Amphorae, 31 local pots (excluding fragments), a few of which imitate Greek Geometric shapes.
Tomb 56. 2 Greek Geometric vases, 97 local.

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[1] Strabo 278.

[2] Johansen *Les Vases Sicyoniens* 182^1, 89.

[3] Herodotus, vii 170. Strabo 278–9.

[4] *N.Sc.* 1900, 419 ff. Cf. Johansen *op. cit.* 43. 10. No chronological conclusions can be derived from the stratification of this hopelessly unstratified deposit. The Mycenaean pottery found in it certainly demonstrates contact between the neighbourhood of Tarentum and the Aegean world in the Mycenaean period. There is, as far as I know, no certain example of Protogeometric nor of true Geometric from the Scoglio del Tonno find. The Mycenaean pottery was mixed with sherds of Protocorinthian of the first half of the seventh century.

Tomb 89. 3 Greek Geometric vases; 4 bronze strigils, a bronze bowl and a bronze pyxis, of Greek manufacture; a large quantity of local pottery.

Tomb 108. 6 Greek imports. 93 native pots.

Not a trace of this Greek Geometric pottery has been found on the site of Greek Locri and not a trace of Greek seventh- and sixth-century pottery, such as is common at Locri, has been found on this site.[1] There is, in fact, every reason for believing that the native settlements of the Canale plateau did not survive the plantation of the Greek colony, and this conclusion is consistent with Polybius xii 5,[2] where the Locrians say that they expelled the natives when they founded their colony.

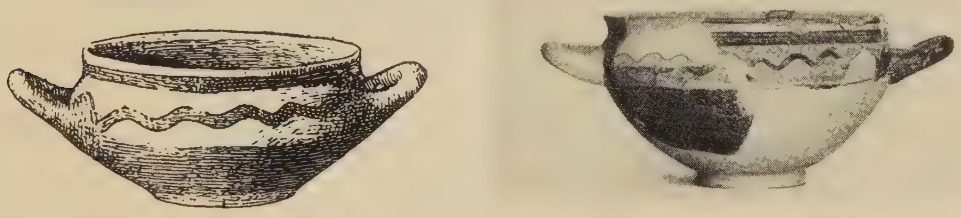
a *b*

FIG. 3.—GEOMETRIC CUP FROM CANALE AND GEOMETRIC CUP FROM DELOS.

That many of the bronze objects and all the painted Geometric pottery of the Canale tombs are imported Greek work of the eighth century there can be no doubt.[3] The local pottery is of entirely different clay and technique, unpainted and hand-made. The best that the native potters could achieve was the imitation of a few Greek shapes in the local clay with the local imperfect method of firing.

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[1] Contrast the otherwise parallel native site of Torre Galli, 22 km. S.W. of Monte Leone, which has no Greek Geometric but continues into the seventh and sixth centuries, when it received a small but steady stream of Corinthian imports. The Canale settlement was at the very gates of Locri. Torre Galli was far removed from any early Greek colony.

[2] Polybius describes the natives as Sicels. The marked similarity of the burial customs and tomb architecture of the dwellers on the Canale plateau to those of the Sicels of the Third Siculan period has led Orsi to identify them as Sicels.

[3] The possibility that the painted, wheel-made vases are the work of a Greek ‘ Travelling Potter ’ working for the local market with local clay is excluded by the fact that their clay is utterly different from that of the local fabric whose texture resembles a none too happy amalgam of cow-dung and charcoal. Further, it is necessary to postulate for the Canale plateau a ‘ Travelling Greek Bronze-worker ’ as well as a ‘ Travelling Potter ’ and hence a local supply of bronze! But even if this tiresome and impossible hypothesis of ‘ Travelling Potter ’ and ‘ Travelling Bronze-worker ’ is accepted it still proves the existence of pre-colonisation contacts between the Canale plateau and the Greek world.

The localisation of this imported Greek pottery in its Greek home is a more difficult matter. It is not Attic, not Corinthian, not Rhodian, not Cretan, not Argive.[1] The following comparisons may be suggested:

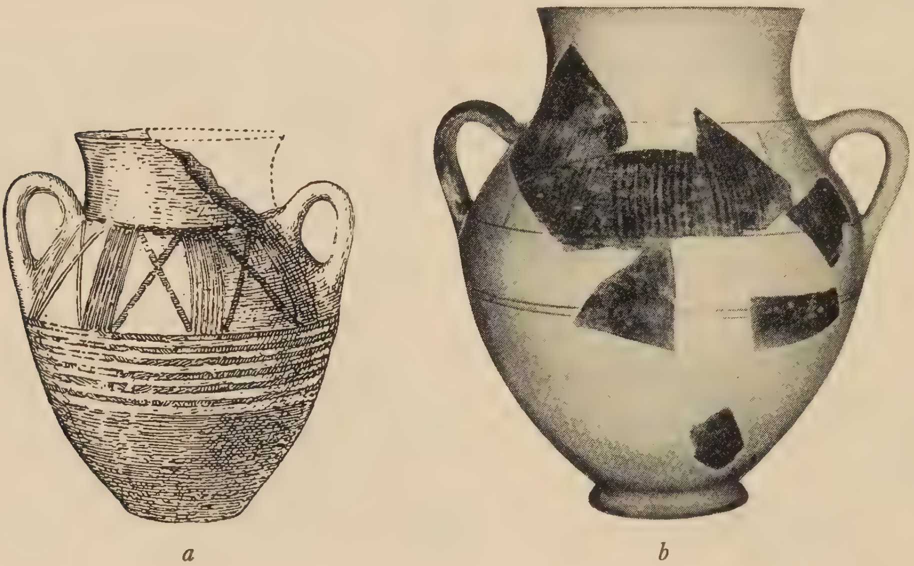
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Fig. 4.—Geometric Vase from Canale and Geometric Vase from Delos.

No. 20. *M.A.* xxxi Pl. xvi 7 has a close parallel in Dugas *Délos* xv Pl. xxvi 2 (see Fig. 3).

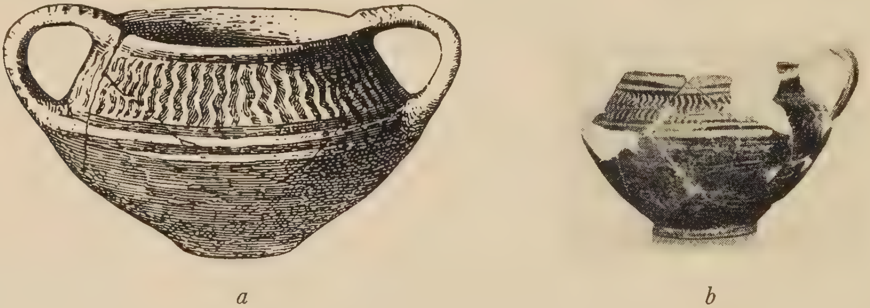
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Fig. 5.—Geometric Cup from Canale and Geometric Cup from Delos.

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[1] Orsi's suggestion that it may come from the Argolid I cannot understand unless it is a reference to the Argivo-Cycladic category of Dugas, which has been demolished by Payne and Buschor. See, however, No. 11, p. 179.

No. 18. *M.A.* xxxi Pl. xvi 5 compare *A.M.* 1903, Pl. iii 3.

No. 16. *M.A.* xxxi Pl. xvi 3 compare *A.M.* 1903 Pl. iii 4 and vii 4. Compare also Dugas *Délos* xv Pl. xiv nos. 58–61 (see Fig. 4).

No. 8. *M.A.* xxxi Pl. xv 8; compare Dugas *Délos* xv Pl. xxxi 49 (see Fig. 5).

No. 11. *M.A.* xxxi Pl. xv 11 has a close parallel in a Greek import to Sicily from Cava di S. Aloe. See No. 40 and *R.M.* xv 78 fig. 25. There is also a fairly good parallel from Tiryns (*Tiryns* i Pl. xviii 2).

Fig. 6*b*. *M.A.* xxxi, fig. 231, right, has some affinities with a type of Geometric akin to Protocorinthian found in Ithaca.

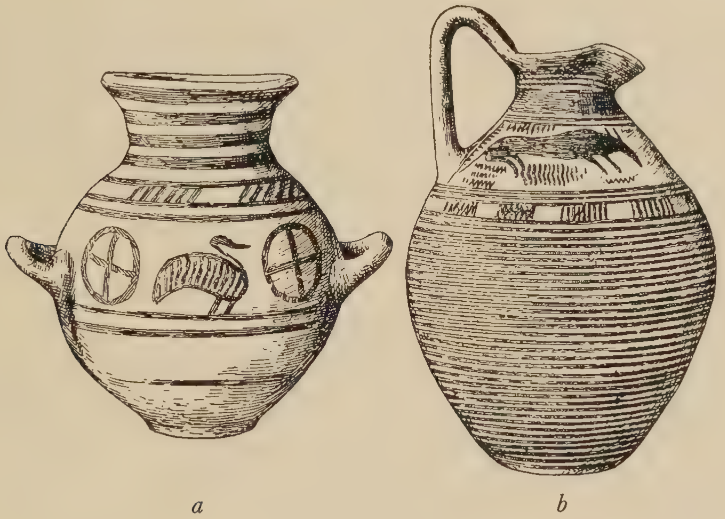
a *b*

Fig. 6.—Geometric Pottery from Canale.

In general we can say that the Canale Geometric has some decorative elements which resemble the fabrics of the Cyclades though the whole series does not fall easily into place in any of the recognised categories. That it is eighth-century Greek work there can be no doubt.[1]

The foundation of the Greek colony at Locri is dated 682 or 673 B.C. by Eusebius. Strabo 259 places it after that of Syracuse. Pausanias iii, 3, 1 perhaps indicates a date before the end of the eighth century. An early seventh-century date is indicated by the archaeological evidence from the Greek graves of the colony which in a few instances contain Protocorinthian of the Ovoid Aryballus period but mostly pottery of a later date.[2]

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[1] I am not certain that all the Canale Greek Geometric comes from the same centre of manufacture.

[2] Johansen *op. cit.* 182.

Consequently Greek commerce with the neighbourhood of Locri antedates the foundation of the colony by at least fifty years.[1]

SICILY: THE GREEK COLONIAL SITES.

The pre-colonisation Greek contacts with Sicily do not cover a long period. There is no suggestion that they begin when Mycenaean contacts cease. On the contrary, Sicily seems to have been almost completely cut off from the Aegean world throughout the whole of the first half of the Third Siculan period, and it is only for about one generation before the foundation of Naxos that there is any sign of the continuous arrival of Greek cargoes. Whether or not these cargoes antedate the foundation of Cumae it is difficult to say. Certainly they must be considered as later than the settlement on Pithecusae, if we follow Livy in regarding it as earlier than that of Cumae, and consider it as the centre from which much of the early Greek Geometric in Etruria was distributed.

Syracuse. This is dated archaeologically as a Greek settlement by the contents of the oldest tombs of the cemeteries of that city. It is assumed, and with good reason, that the oldest Greek graves have been discovered and that their contents belong to the first thirty years of the life of the colony.[2] The pre-colonisation material consists of fragments of pottery stylistically of a date earlier than the contents of any of the Greek graves. Besides the stylistic criterion of date there is also a certain amount of stratification evidence. The fragments were found at various points on the island of Ortygia, often at a considerable depth below the surface of the soil, and never in Greek graves. For example, the excavation of the Athenaion brought to light a well-defined stratum which contained a little Sicel pottery uninfluenced by Greek craftsmanship, a few sherds of Greek Geometric of a style different from that of the contents of any of the Greek graves, and a little Sicel pottery shewing the influence of Greek models of the same stylistic date. Personally I have little doubt that this stratum represents the remains of the settlement of the Sicels on the island of Ortygia who were driven out by the Corinthians when they founded the colony.[3]

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[1] The complete absence of Protocorinthian of the Globular Aryballus period and of other contemporary Greek pottery from Greek Locri points to an interval of at least fifty to seventy-five years between the earliest graves at Greek Locri and the *earliest* Greek Geometric imports to the Canale plateau. The more developed examples of the latter may be as late as *c.* 700 B.C. I do not think that any of them belong to the seventh century.

[2] See Johansen *op. cit. passim* and particularly chapter 6. Compare, however, the fragment from the Fusco cemetery discussed below. Certainly this one fragment, which may or may not have come from a grave, does not invalidate Johansen's main chronological conclusions.

[3] Orsi's interpretation of this stratum varies. At one time he considered it to have been produced by a levelling of the ground and so of no chronological value. For the

The following is a list of the more important material:

1. The Athenaion. Nos. 25–27 and Fig. 7. *M.A.* xxv figs. 97, 98 and 99. Sicel pottery under the influence of Greek Geometric design.

Ibid. fig. 100. Sicel pottery perhaps shewing the influence of Protocorinthian of the Globular Aryballus period (this fragment is very possibly of Colonisation date).

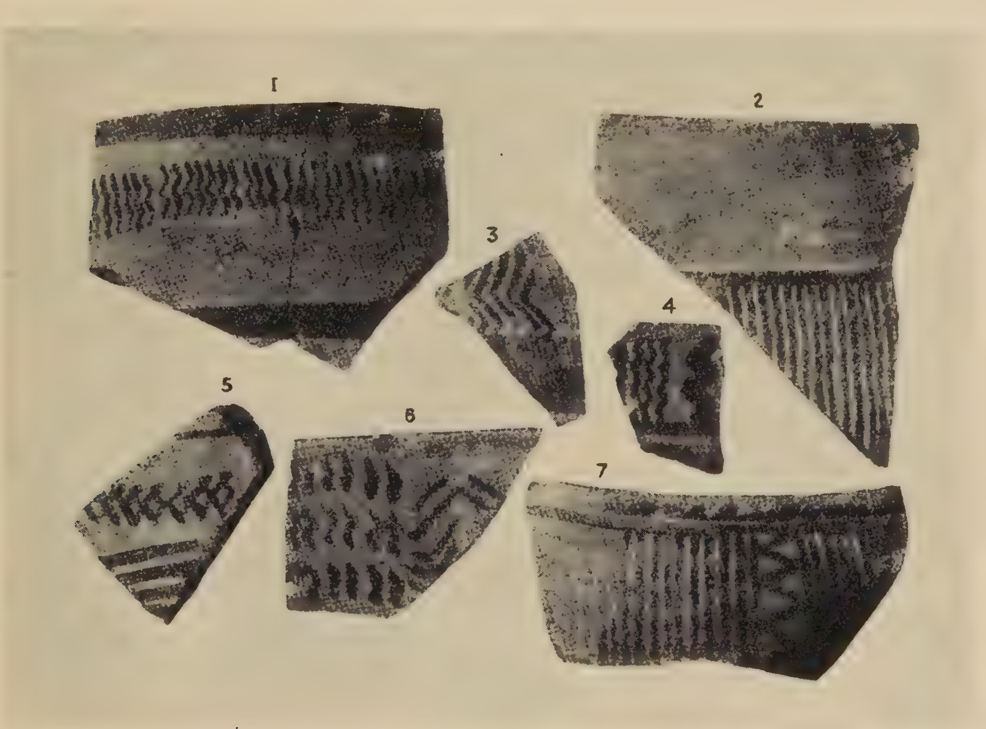

Fig. 7.—Geometric Sherds from the Athenaion at Syracuse.

Fig. 7. *Ibid.* fig. 109. Fig 7, 5 is possibly Argive; for Figs. 7, 2 and 7 cf. Dugas *Délos* xv Pl. xiv, nos. 58, 59, 60.

Fig. 7, 1, 3, 4 and 6 are possibly also Cycladic Geometric.

No. 28. *Ibid.* fig. 110. This can perhaps be paralleled by *M.A.* xxii 471 fig. 172 (Cretan from Cumae).

No. 29 is, I think, Cycladic. Cf. Dugas *Délos* xv Pl. iv 7.

All these sherds save perhaps No. 28 should, on stylistic grounds, probably be considered as earlier than the contents of the earliest Greek

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Sicels on Ortygia see Thuc. vi. 3. 3. There is no archaeological evidence to support the theory that Syracuse was originally a Euboic or, more specifically, an Eretrian settlement. The so-called literary evidence for this theory (*e.g.* Strabo 449, Schol. Ap. Rhod. i, 419, Schol. Iliad, ix 557) is contemptible.

burials at Syracuse and so rank as pre-colonisation imports. This hypothesis is also supported by their position in the deposit of the Athenaion. They may perhaps be dated roughly to the period *c.* 800 B.C. to *c.* 725 B.C.

2. *N. Sc.* 1925, 320 reports a Protocorinthian cup of the type Johansen *op. cit.* Pl. 2, which is earlier than the Globular Aryballus period, and so of pre-colonisation date.[1]

No. 30. *N. Sc.* 1925, 318 fig. 72 is possibly eighth-century Cretan, while No. 31, *ibid.* fig. 76 is probably Cycladic (' Parian ') [2] Geometric. Cf. for decoration Dugas *Délos* xv Pls. xxvii–xxxi.

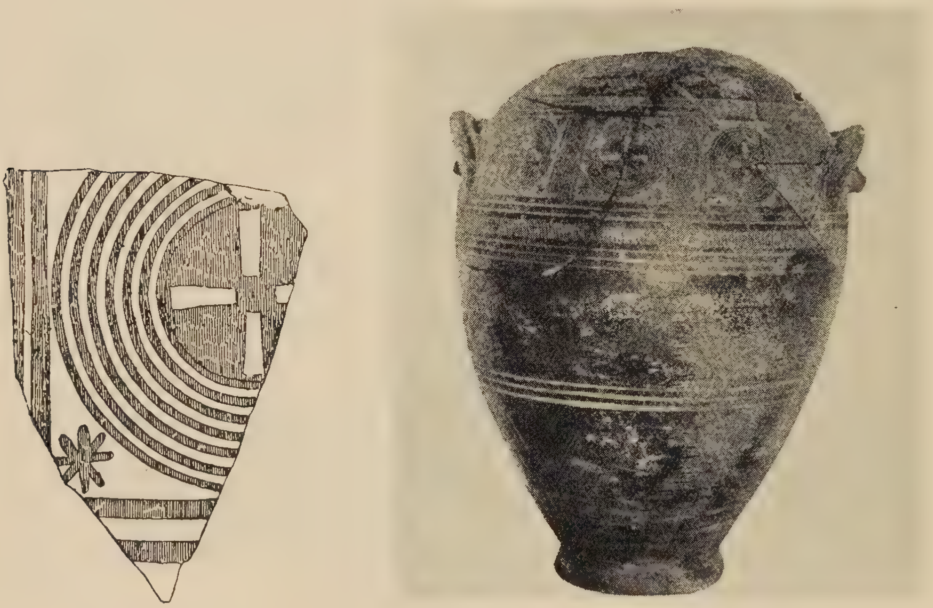
a *b*

Fig. 8.—Geometric Sherd from Syracuse and Vase from Thera.

These fragments must rank as doubtfully of pre-colonisation date. No. 30 may belong to the end of the eighth century. No. 31 seems to me earlier than the Sub-geometric (Argive?) [3] kraters of the Fusco cemetery (*e.g. N. Sc.* 1895, 135 fig. 12; 137 fig. 13; 185 fig. 86) which it resembles in some details; but with such a small fragment it is difficult to be precise.

[1] I have not seen this vase nor is it illustrated in *N. Sc.* 1925.

[2] For a somewhat sceptical discussion of the ' Parian ' category see p. 183 note 4 below.

[3] I am inclined to think that the ' Argive ' character of these kraters is due to the fact that they are ' Provincial Protocorinthian,' that is Syracusan. I have had no opportunity to examine their clay since 1926.

3. Fig. 8. *N. Sc.* 1895, 189 fig. 90. This fragment was found in the Fusco cemetery, but not in a grave nor associated with any grave-group. The probability admittedly is that it is a fragment of an early burial pithos, ejected to make room for a later burial. If this hypothesis is correct, it must be placed in the colonisation period. I include it here because it is stylistically as old as, if not older than, any of the surviving burial groups and because it may be taken as illustrating the importation of Creto-Cycladic material to Syracuse in the earliest days of the colony.[1]

There can be little doubt that the Syracuse fragment is Creto-Cycladic of the second half of the eighth century.

The pre-colonisation Greek imports at Syracuse thus seem to have come from Corinth, Argos, the Cyclades, Crete.

Gela. Nos. 32–34, Pl. 24. The excavation of the sanctuary at Bitalemi yielded from its lower strata a few examples of Greek Geometric pottery of a style apparently earlier than that represented by any of the contents of the Greek graves of the colony of Gela.[2] As at the Athenaion at Syracuse these strata contained Sicel pottery uninfluenced by Greek art as well as local imitations of Greek work.

Once more it is difficult not to interpret these lower strata as the remains of a Sicel settlement which antedated the arrival of the Greek colony.

No. 32. *M.A.* xvii 596 fig. 404 has been recognised as Cretan Geometric by Payne. No. 33, *ibid.* fig. 405 he describes as ' perhaps Cretan '[3] (there are also parallels in Cycladic ' Parian ').

No. 34. *Ibid.* fig. 403 is probably of local Sicel manufacture but it clearly derives from models such as Rubensohn, *A.M.* 1917, 85 fig. 97, from Paros, Cycladic ' Parian,'[4] and Pfuhl, *A.M.* xxviii, Pl. 5, 1 (cf. also Dugas *Délos* xv Pl. xiv, Nos. 59, 60)

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[1] There is an exact parallel to the decoration in an amphora from Thera, Dragendorf, *Thera* ii fig. 107 = fig. 379*a*. Cf. Rubensohn, *A.M.* 1917, 76 fig. 83 from Paros, and Pfuhl *A.M.* 1903 Pl. xxxiv, no. 3 (Handle-zone decoration); also Louvre A 266 from Thera.

[2] The two Cretan examples must be used with caution as chronological evidence, for in Crete some Geometric motives last into the early years of the seventh century. On the other hand, these two examples do not seem to belong to the latest phase of the style and are earlier than the contents of the oldest graves from the Gela cemeteries, *e.g.* the pithos in *M.A.* xvii, Pl. 5 centre, which Payne has identified as a Cretan import of the early seventh century. Compare also *ibid.* figs. 409, 410, 412—also identified by Payne as Cretan imports —which come from the *upper* strata at Bitalemi and are undoubtedly of a date later than the foundation of the colony.

[3] Payne *Necrocorinthia* 5, note 1.

[4] I have used the term ' Parian,' which Buschor has affixed to this class, with a certain amount of misgiving. I confess that Buschor's arguments for Paros (*e.g.* the presence of numbers of miniature dedicatory vases, which are according to him of this class on the island of Paros) do not seem to me convincing. The fabric is undoubtedly of the general class known to archaeologists as Cycladic and so I should prefer to describe it, with the addition of a non-local label.

Rubensohn and an earlier school named the class Euboic on account of its affinities with Boetian Geometric. Against this view can be urged the known and very distinctively different character of Eretrian Geometric. Nevertheless, I have often been tempted by the presence of this class and its derivatives in Sicily and Etruria to revive the old heresy in and may be taken as evidence of eighth-century Cycladic imports to the neighbourhood of Gela.

It would seem, therefore, that Crete and the Cyclades were in commercial contact with Gela before the Cretans and Rhodians planted their colony there in *c.* 690 B.C.

THE SICEL SETTLEMENTS.[1]

The evidence for pre-colonisation Greek contact with the Sicel communities of the Third Siculan period falls into four main classes:

i. Greek Geometric imports.
ii. Local Geometric pottery painted by Greek craftsmen.[2]

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my own mind and to think of the class as 'Chalcidian Geometric.' The *a priori* historical reasons for such a label for a class of Geometric well represented in the West are of course obvious. That Chalcis should share in the material culture and artistic tradition of the Cyclades is exactly what one would expect. Cf. Thuc. iv, 84, 109, Plutarch *Q.G.* xxx. I have, however, no intention of complicating the issue by suggesting this new name for the class without evidence of the presence of this pottery in large quantities in Euboea, and specifically at Chalcis; and such evidence is entirely lacking.

[1] The material from the rest of the Greek colonies in Sicily can be dealt with very briefly. I know of no evidence from Naxos, Catana, Leontini, Himera, Megara Hyblaea. Geometric vases from *Sicel* settlements *near* Catana, Taormina and Leontini are discussed below.

Zankle. A Geometric vase associated with a globular Protocorinthian aryballus and later pottery is illustrated in *N. Sc.* 1929, 40 fig. 2. It is impossible to state definitely whether or not this vase is of pre-colonisation date because of the lack of trustworthy literary evidence for the exact date of the Greek colony and because of the lack of archaeological material from the colonial necropolis. The circumstances and place of the find seem to me to indicate that this vase, as well as the globular aryballus, belong to the colonisation rather than to the pre-colonisation period. If this be admitted the date of the foundation of Zankle must be regarded as probably close to that of Syracuse and Megara Hyblaea and certainly not later than the date of the latter colony. The Geometric vase is probably Cycladic, cf. Dugas *Délos* xv Pls. 3, 4 and No. 29 from Syracuse. Stylistically it belongs to the second half of the eighth century.

Akragas. I have omitted a discussion of the pre-colonisation material from this site for two reasons: 1. Quantities of Greek seventh-century pottery from Akragas are reported by Marconi and Hardcastle, but no examples are illustrated and the material is as yet inaccessible (I have only been able to inspect two sherds of, possibly late seventh-century, Corinthian). 2. The pre-colonisation material at Akragas belongs, apparently, to the seventh century, and in this article I am concerned only with the pre-colonisation contacts which belong to the period before the first great wave of Greek colonisation to the West in the years *c.* 735 B.C. to *c.* 690 B.C. Some early Geometric material from a Sicel site in the neighbourhood of Girgenti is discussed below.

Selinus. I know of no pre-colonisation evidence from Selinus. The early seventh-century Daedalic marble lamp, *M.A.* xxxii plate xxiii 1, must certainly have been brought with them by the colonists. The problem is complicated by the dual literary tradition as to the date of the colony. There is certainly no eighth-century pottery from this site.

[2] Class ii is rare in the Sicel cemeteries of the Third Siculan period. It is only in the Fourth period (after *c.* 700 B.C.) that the class becomes at all common.

iii. Local geometric pottery painted by Sicels but copied directly from Greek Geometric originals.[1]

iv. Local Geometric pottery of Barbarian type but with a few decorative details borrowed directly or indirectly from Greek imports.[2]

Sicel Settlement near Lentini. Nos. 35–42, Pl. 25 and Figs. 10, 11*a*. All four classes are represented in the graves at Cava di S. Aloe.

Tomb 2.[3] Fig. 10. *R.M.* xv 69 fig. 9. The matt paint and, perhaps, the

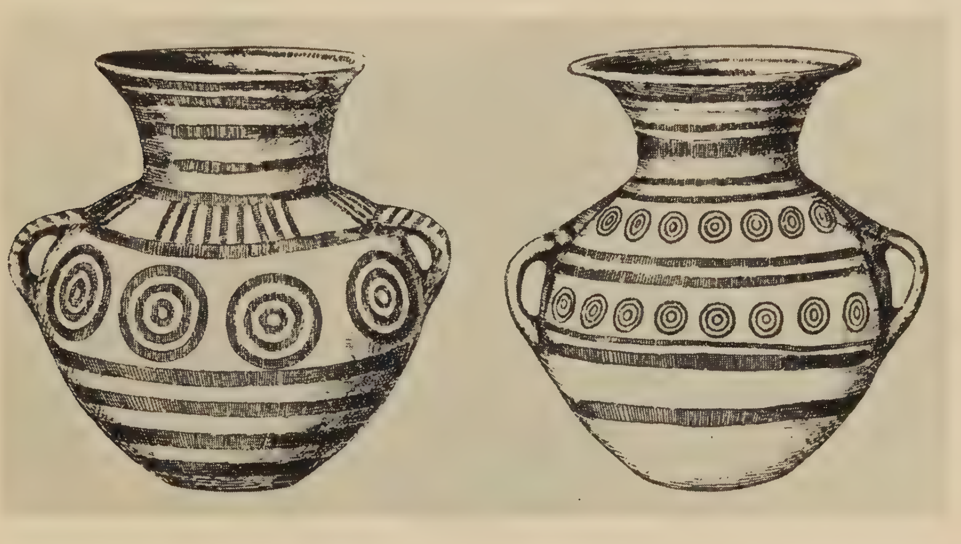

FIG. 9.—SICEL GEOMETRIC POTTERY FROM LENTINI.

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[1] It is important to realise the distinction between Class iii and Class iv, though naturally there are some examples of which it is difficult, if not impossible, to say whether they are bad direct copies of Greek originals or true Barbarian vases with a more than ordinarily heavy debt to Greek designs.

[2] I have sometimes thought that Class iv contained examples with decorative elements which are neither purely Greek nor purely Siculan, nor yet an amalgam of the two, and which might be referred to the Phoenician settlements on the coast of Sicily mentioned by Thucydides (vi 2, 6). This theory might account for a certain resemblance to the Iron Age pottery of Cyprus which is apparent in some of the amphorae which are illustrated in *R.M.* xiii, *e.g.* 343 figs. 59 and 60 (see Fig. 9). Orsi detects Cypriot influence in the askos No. 51 (*ibid.* 355 fig. 70) of which he says: 'Malgrado esso abbia tutta l'apparenza di un vaso importato e Ciprioto io propendo a crederlo di fabrica Sicula imitante un articolo estero.' However, Payne has convinced me that this vase has no affinities with Cypriot pottery and is a normal example of Class iv. The evidence is far too scanty and indefinite to justify a subdivision of Class iv into Phoenician influence and Greek influence, or indeed to justify the recognition of Phoenician influence as more than a possibility.

[3] This tomb contained two burials, one of which at least belongs to the colonisation period; for with the Sicel vases were found fragments of Protocorinthian cups of the

outlandish shape (derived from a cup resting on the top of an amphora?) point to a local origin.[1] The decoration, however, is too characteristically Greek to be the product of even the most sedulous imitation by a Sicel artist and I am forced to the conclusion that the painting of the vase is the work of a Greek craftsman in Sicily, that the vase is, in fact, an example of the rare second class. If this view is correct, the probability admittedly is that the vase is later than the foundation of Naxos and Syracuse. On the other hand, this type of Geometric is not found in any of the graves at Syracuse nor at any other Greek colony and it is possible that in Sicily, as in Etruria, Greek craftsmen arrived before the colonisation movement that began with the foundation of Naxos.

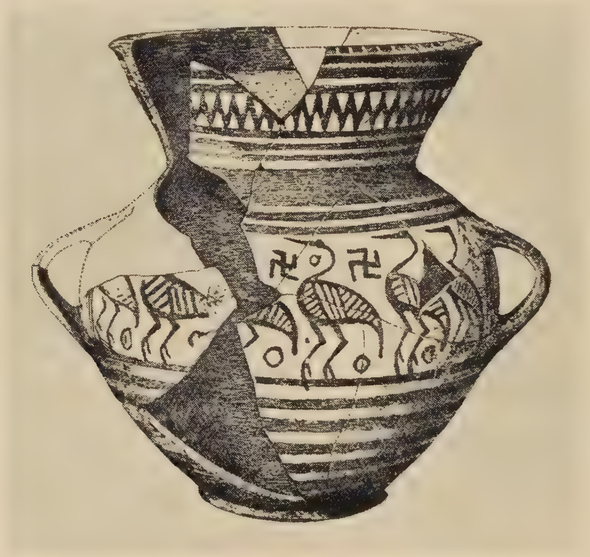

Fig. 10.—Geometric Vase from Cava di S. Aloe, Lentini.

No. 35. *R.M.* xv 68 fig. 8 seems to me a fair example of Class iv. The shape is local; the decoration Greek, possibly derivative from Cycladic Geometric.

No. 36. *Ibid.* 71 fig. 13. This vase belongs to a class which is also represented in tomb 3 and tomb 5 at Cava di S. Aloe at Tremenzano and at Paterno near Catania.[2] The shape seems to be peculiar to the Sicel cemeteries and is possibly of purely local origin. There are, however, two fairly close parallels for decoration and to a certain extent shape[3] in two vases excavated by Payne and myself at

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Globular Aryballus period. It is, of course, probable that both burials belong to that period. *R.M.* xv 70 fig. 11 seems to me a Sicel imitation of a Greek original of colonisation date, but Nos. 35, 36 probably derive from Greek models of an earlier period.

[1] There is, however, a parallel for the shape (save for the handles) in a Geometric cup from Tiryns (*Tiryns* i Pl. xv 10).

[2] This vase, so far as I know, unpublished, is in the Museo Preistorico in Rome.

[3] The Knossian vases have two handles. The parallel in decoration is only close for the first two Cava di S. Aloe examples. There is a less close parallel in a bowl from Leprignano in the Villa Giulia.

Knossos in 1933.[1] Cf. also Levi *Annuario* x–xii 233 fig. 269, 259 fig. 311; 328 fig. 426. Class iv—or perhaps Class iii.

Tomb 3. No. 37. *R.M.* xv fig. 14. A good example of Class iii. The vase is a fairly close imitation of a Greek Geometric original of a type of which there is a Cycladic example from Perachora. The original was probably Cycladic, possibly of the ' Parian ' class. There is also a close parallel from Tiryns in the Nauplia Museum.

Ibid. fig. 15, Class iv. Local shape, bastard Greek decoration; cf. for the latter Dugas *Délos* xiv Pl. xv 8.

Ibid. fig. 16. Class iv.

Ibid. fig. 17. Class iv.

Nos. 38, 39. *Ibid.* figs. 18, 19. Class iii. The original was again probably Cycladic ' Parian.'

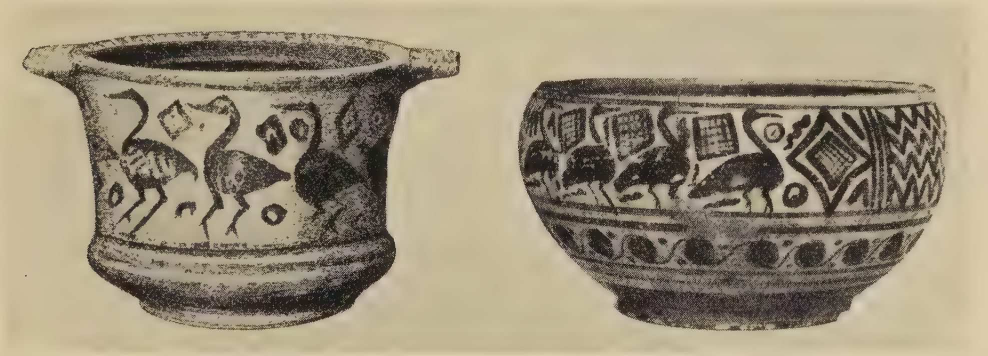
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FIG. 11.—GEOMETRIC VASE FROM CAVA DI S. ALOE, LENTINI, AND BOEOTIAN GEOMETRIC VASE IN MUNICH.

Fig. 11*a*. *Ibid.* fig. 21, Class iii (possibly Class ii). This vase possibly derives from Boeotian Geometric. Cf. Munich catalogue Pl. xiv no. 403 (reproduced here, Fig. 11*b*).

R.M. xv fig. 20. See above No. 36.

Tomb 5. *Ibid.* fig. 24. See above No. 36.

No. 40. *Ibid.* fig. 25. Orsi describes this vase as possibly an import because of the character of its clay: ' di creta finissima decantata, importata? ' It certainly belongs to Class i. There is a close parallel from Canale. See No. 11.

No. 41. *Ibid.* fig. 27. Orsi regards as an import on grounds of clay, varnish and style. Class i. Cycladic? Or Argive?

No. 42. *Ibid.* fig. 28. Also described as an import by Orsi for the same reasons. Class i.

The rest of the Sicel graves at Cava di S. Aloe probably belong to the colonisation period. This Sicel settlement apparently survived into the

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[1] From a tomb containing a continuous series of burials from the Protogeometric to the Polychrome style. The vases were found associated with a Geometric burial which contained a large number of Cypriot imports.

Fourth Siculan period—after 700 B.C.—and was not disturbed by the Greek colonists.

Sicel settlement at Tremenzano. Nos. 43, 44, Pl. 26. There are four vases from this site which I should refer to the pre-colonisation period on stylistic grounds.[1]

No. 43. *B.P.I.* xviii Pl. vii 1 (Orsi considers this vase to be a Greek import). Class i. Possibly Cycladic.

No. 44. *R.M.* xiii 339 fig. 54. Class iii. The Greek original was once more possibly Cycladic.

B.P.I. xviii, Pl. 2A, 17, see p. 186 No. 36.

Ibid. Pl. 2A, 19. Class iii. Possibly derivative from a Creto-Cypriot original.

I can say nothing as to the origin of *B.P.I.* xviii Pl. vii 2, which Orsi considers to be a Greek import.

Sicel settlement at Castelluccio. One rifled [2] tomb (No. 4) contained two fragments of a vase which Orsi describes as follows: ‘ Frammenti di un vaso, probabilmente a forma di scodella, di piccole dimensioni, di creta rosea depuratissima, ben cotto e tornito. . . . E senza dubbio un vaso geometrico greco, importato.’

No. 45. *B.P.I.* xviii Pl. iii Nos. 1 and 3. Class i. Probably Cycladic, cf. Dugas *Délos* xv Pl. xxxix 51.

The rest of these graves belong to the seventh century and later.

Sicel site near Taormina.

Fig. 12*a*. *N. Sc.* 1919, 365 fig. 6. Class iii. The Greek original from which this vase derives was probably of the general type Dugas *Délos* xv Pl. ii Nos. 1 and 2. Cycladic.

No. 46. *N. Sc.* 1919, 364 fig. 4. Class iii (or possibly ii) deriving from Corinthian? This vase may well belong to the colonisation period.

Sicel site at Paterno near Catania. A grave-group in the Museo Preistorico contains a bowl of the type described on p. 186, and three oinochoai of Class iii.

Sicel site near Girgenti. In the Museo Preistorico in Rome there is a group of vases described as follows: ‘ Vasi provenienti da tombe del 1° periodo Siculo.’

Presumably these ‘ Tombs of the First Siculan period ’ were re-used in the Second and Third Siculan periods, for among the vases so described is a squat bell-krater with flap-handles (Class iii), which seems to me to derive from a Greek Protogeometric original, and an oinochoe [1] (Class iii) which clearly derives from a Greek (Cycladic?) Geometric original.[2]

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[1] *I.e.* the style of these vases is not represented in any of the cemeteries of the Greek colonies in Sicily.

[2] The fragments must be dated entirely on stylistic grounds. Nothing can be deduced from the contents of the tomb.

Sicel site at Ossini. The following vases seem to me to belong to the pre-colonisation period:

No. 47. *R.M.* xxiv 80 fig. 11. Class iv.

No. 48. *R.M.* xxiv 81 fig. 13. Class iv. The Greek decorative elements probably derive from Cycladic Geometric.

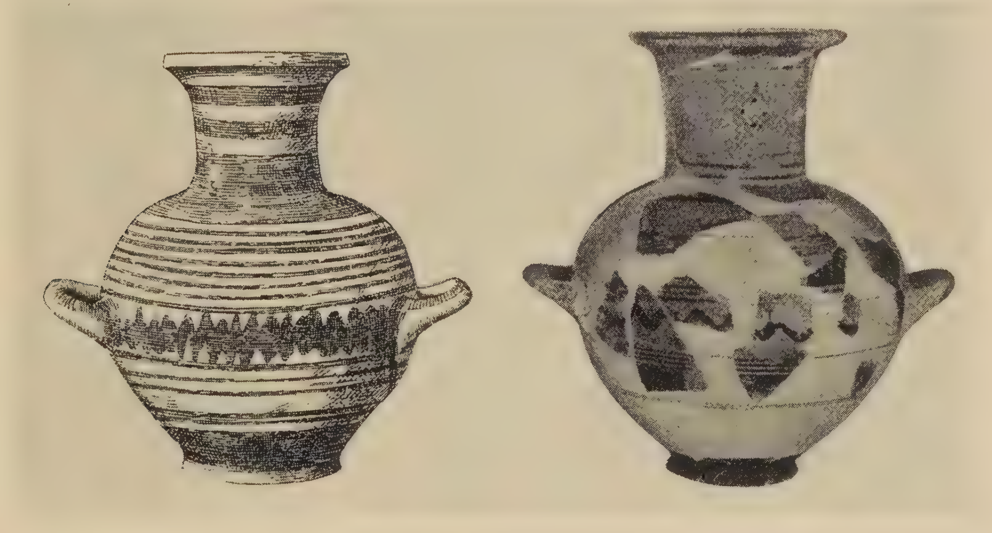
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FIG. 12.—GEOMETRIC VASE FROM TAORMINA AND GEOMETRIC VASE FROM DELOS.

No. 49. *R.M.* xxiv 81 fig. 12. Class iii (or ii?). Derivative from Cycladic ‘ Parian ’ Geometric.

No. 50. *R.M.* xxiv 82 fig. 14, Right. Class iii. Possibly derives from a Cretan model.

The rest of the vases at Ossini are of the colonisation period, *e.g.* the Protocorinthian skyphos of the type Johansen *op. cit.* Pl. ix No. 4, and the fragment of a Protocorinthian pyxis lid, *R.M.* xxiv 83 fig. 16.

Sicel site at Finocchito. Nos. 51–58, Pl. 27. This cemetery, though in the main consisting of burials of the Third Siculan period, clearly continued in use after *c.* 735 B.C. Consequently I have excluded from my list all vases which could possibly be referred to the colonisation period on stylistic grounds as well as all vases from grave-groups which contained other pottery of possibly colonisation date.[1] To be more precise, my list has been selected on the following principles:

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[1] If I am right in identifying this vase as derivative from Greek Protogeometric art, it is an interesting and isolated example of Aegean contacts with *Sicily* in the dark period between the end of the Mycenaean period and the arrival of the first Greek traders in the first half of the eighth century.

[2] The majority of the Sicel tombs from near Girgenti belong to the Fourth Siculan period.

(i) Protocorinthian cups of the type Johansen *op. cit.* Pl. ix Nos. 6 and 7 are found in some of the graves.[2] The contents of all such graves may therefore be as late as these cups (*i.e.* as late as *c.* 675 B.C.) and have been excluded from my list.

(ii) More common are cups of the type Johansen *op. cit.* Pl. ix No. 4. Now Johansen has shewn that this type of cup is often associated with the globular aryballus (Phaleron tomb 83) and belongs to that period,[3] and so the contents of all[4] graves in which they are found need not be earlier than the colonisation period and have also been excluded.

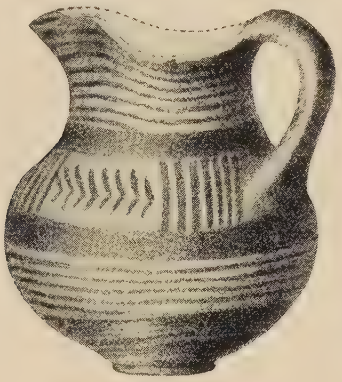

FIG. 13.—GEOMETRIC VASE FROM FINOCCHITO.

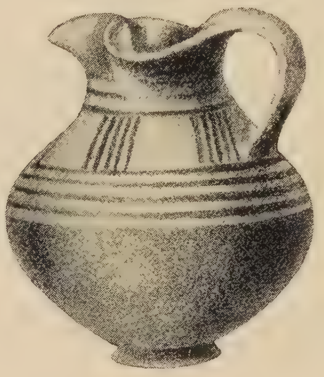

FIG. 14.—GEOMETRIC VASE FROM FINOCCHITO.

(iii) Further, these two types of cups are found in graves which contained oinochoai of the type Fig. 14, which, in spite of the fact that it is not represented in the colonial cemeteries at Syracuse and Megara Hyblaea, and might therefore be considered as of pre-colonisation date, must also be considered as suspect; consequently I have excluded all grave-groups in which this type of oinochoe is found.

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[1] This exclusion probably involves the loss of a certain amount of pre-colonisation material, but the residuum of unquestionable evidence is sufficiently impressive in itself.

[2] *E.g.* Graves Nos. 1 and 38 in the West Group.

[3] The *general* type of this skyphos was certainly in existence before the Globular Aryballus period. Cf. the two kylikes from the Prehellenic native settlement at Cumae *M.A.* xxii Pl. xvii, nos. 7 and 9. Some of the Finocchito examples stand half-way (stylistically) between the type Johansen *op. cit.* Pl. ix. 4 and the Cumae examples and are probably genuine pre-colonisation material. I have nevertheless, for safety's sake, excluded them from my list.

[4] *E.g.* Graves Nos. 5, 51, 61 and 71 in the West Group.

(iv) Oinochoai of the type Fig. 13 have no doubtful companions in this cemetery, are not found in the Greek colonial cemeteries, and so are included in my list.

No. 51. *B.P.I.* xx Pl. v 3A; *R.M.* xiii 355 fig. 70. Class iv.

No. 52. *B.P.I.* xx Pl. iv 6; No. 53. *Ibid.* xxiii Pl. vi 11. Class iii. These vases of local clay are obviously of Sicel workmanship, but the incised pattern clearly derives immediately from a painted Greek Geometric original.

No. 54. *Ibid.* xx Pl. iii 8. Orsi has recognised this vase as a Greek import. The Greek inscription on the base should satisfy even the most anti-archaeological historian.[1] Class i, probably Cycladic.

No. 55. *Ibid.* xxiii Pl. vi 3. Class iii or Class iv? The decorative elements probably derive from Cycladic.

No. 56. *Ibid.* Pl. vi 15. Class iv. Deriving from Creto-Cypriot (?) Geometric.

Fig. 13. *Ibid.* Pl. vi 13. Class i. Cycladic?

No. 57. *Ibid.* xx, Pl. iv 13. Class i or iii. Cycladic or under Cycladic influence.

It must be understood that this list is only representative. The following graves, among others, also contain pre-colonisation Geometric:

West Group, Nos. 7, 14–15, 24, 52, 54. All these contained imported Geometric oinochoai (Class i) of the general type No. 57. *B.P.I.* xx Pl. iv 13.

North-West Group, Nos. 3, 40, 47. These also contained vases of Class i.

The outstanding characteristics of Greek imports to Sicily in the pre-colonisation period is the prevalence of vases of Cycladic type. This is the more noticeable in that this class of pottery is conspicuous by its absence in the colonisation period and later. Crete is also represented, but in far smaller quantities, and the very little that can be referred to Corinth gives no hint of the overwhelming preponderance of her exports to the West in the century that follows. In fact the change in the character and composition of Greek trade with the West which is contemporary with the first great wave of Greek colonisation is nowhere more clearly marked than in Sicily.[2]

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[1] I suppose that eighth-century Greek writing may be regarded as suspect by some historians and, since Professor Rhys Carpenter's article *A.J.A.* 1933, 8, by a few archaeologists. But the Hymettus Geometric inscriptions (Blegen *A.J.A.* 1934, 10), if not the Dipylon jug, prove beyond question that Greek writing not only existed in the eighth century but could be used for purely frivolous purposes. See also Stillwell *A.J.A.* 1933, 605, eighth-century inscriptions from Corinth (this last piece of evidence seems to me doubtful).

[2] I am not competent to give a detailed archaeological analysis of the evidence for Greek pre-colonisation contact with the West provided by fibulae from Sicilian and South Italian sites. In general the material falls into three classes, native fibulae, Greek imports,

ETRURIA.[1]

Naturally in Etruria there are no Greek colonial graves whose contents might serve as a basis for an absolute or relative chronology. The stylistic test for dating the pottery we are about to consider still depends on the contents of the Sicilian colonial cemeteries with a little assistance from the Bocchoris tomb at Tarquinia. Johansen has established that the first wave of Greek colonisation in Sicily (*c.* 735–690 B.C.) falls towards the end of the period of the Protocorinthian Globular Aryballus, and we can therefore regard all Greek Geometric in Etruria that is stylistically more primitive than that period as belonging to the years before the foundation of Naxos.[2]

The material falls into four main classes:

A. Greek Geometric imports.
B. Local Geometric made and painted by Greek artists.
C. Local Geometric of Barbarian workmanship but imitating Greek models both in shape and decoration: 'Graeco-Italian Geometric.'
D. Local Geometric of Barbarian shape and workmanship but with painted decoration derived but not strictly copied from Greek Geometric designs: 'Italo-Geometric.'[3]

Class A can often only be distinguished from Class B by the character of the clay and paint. Class B consists of vases of exactly the same clay and paint as those of many vases in Classes C and D and is therefore undoubtedly of local origin, but the skill and precision of the drawing and the exact reproduction of Greek designs and shapes point to Greek workmanship.

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and local imitations of Greek types, and points to the same general conclusion as the pottery evidence. There is, however, so far as I know, less variety in the type of imports.

I must confess that I am satisfied neither with the local nor with the chronological classification of Greek fibulae that is at present in vogue. For example, the finds at Olympia, the shrine of Artemis Orthia at Sparta, and the Heraeum at Perachora seem to indicate that fibulae of the types Nos. 58A, B are not Italiot and Sicilian (see Blinkenberg *Fibules Grecques et Orientales* 197 ff.) but mainland Greek (Peloponnesian? Corinthian??).

[1] The archaeological evidence for eighth-century Greek contact with Etruria is both complex and difficult to interpret. I have confined myself exclusively to the evidence of pottery and to a comparatively small though representative selection of that evidence.

[2] Barbarian copies of this style may, of course, belong to a later date. They are none the less valuable evidence for the importation of eighth-century Greek originals at a time when they were still objects of commerce.

[3] The terms 'Italo-Geometric' and 'Italian Geometric' are often loosely used to cover all four classes. I propose to confine 'Italo-Geometric' to Class D and to use 'Italian Geometric' for native work which shews no sign of Greek influence. See p. 174.

Class C varies from sedulous and creditable imitations of Greek models to badly turned and even hand-made vases with outlandish painted designs which nevertheless betray the Greek model. Of Class D, which is a large one, I have only discussed a few examples which seem to me to shew immediate Greek influence in their decoration.

Vulci.[1] Pl. 28, No. 59, Montelius *op. cit.* Pl. 260, 5 and No. 60, *Ibid.* Pl. 260, 6, have been identified as Boeotian or Cycladic imports by Payne.[2] Class A.

Fig. 15. Gsell, Pl. 1, No. 3. That this early Etruscan shape which later, I think, develops into some of the less pleasing Etruscan monstrosities,[3] derives from the *ancestor* of the beautiful sixth-century Lydian Lydion seems to me very probable. It is to be noted that the shape of what are apparently the earliest Etruscan examples corresponds most closely with the sixth-century Lydian type and that the monstrosities are (apparently) mostly of seventh-century date. The vase is probably local and must perhaps

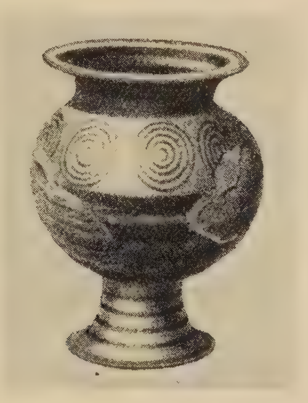

FIG. 15.—" LYDION " FROM VULCI.

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[1] Gsell's statement that at Vulci ' Geometric vases ' were found side by side in the same tomb with Orientalising ware (of the late seventh century) is still used by some people as evidence of the impossibility of dating ' Italian Geometric ' more precisely than ' ninth to seventh centuries B.C.' But it is quite clear from an examination of Gsell's burial groups that this so-called ' Geometric ' which lasts into the late seventh century consists entirely of examples of the Late Protocorinthian and Transitional Linear style (and Italian copies of those styles)—that, in fact, it is not Geometric at all. There is little true Geometric in Gsell (*e.g.* Gsell Pl. 1, No. 2 from Tomb 75, which, though of purely local shape, shews Greek Geometric influence in its decoration, and is a fair example of Class D, Italo-Geometric), and what little there is has no Orientalising bed-fellows.

[2] *Necrocorinthia* p. 4 note 2. He compares K.G.I.B. 116 No. 3 (here Pl. 28, *x*).

[3] *E.g. N. Sc.* 1914, 323 fig. 16, grave 25 (Vetralla); *N. Sc.* 1914, 334 fig. 25, grave 10 (Vetralla); *J.d.I.* 1900, 167 fig. 9 (Pitigliano); and two vases from Chiusi, Montelius *op. cit.* Pl. 214.

rank as Class D because of its decoration, but the debt to a Lydian original is, I think, clear.[1]

Chiusi. Fig. 16. Albizzati *Vasi dipinti del Vaticano* Pl. iii 43. The yellow friable clay and red-brown paint of this vase shew it to be of local manufacture,[2] but it obviously derives immediately from a Greek original of the eighth century; cf. Dugas *Délos* xv Pl. xxix 57. I am unable to say whether it belongs to Class B or Class C.

No. 61. Albizzati *op. cit.* Pl. ii 37. This krater shews its local origin by its yellow-white friable clay, brick-red paint and barbarous drawing, but it is for all that a painstaking copy of a Boeotian or Cycladic original of the eighth century of the general type of Nos. 59, 60. Class C.

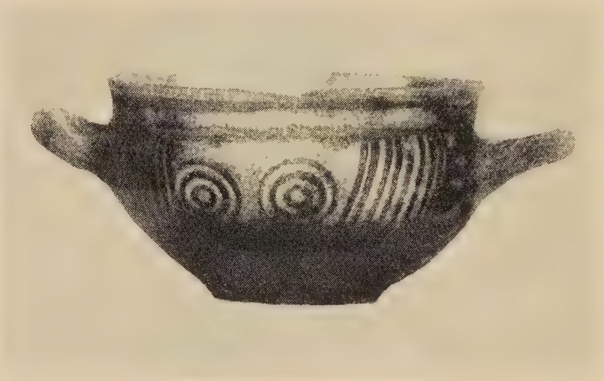

Fig. 16.—Geometric Cup from Chiusi.

Terni. Pl. 30, No. 69. *N. Sc.* 1916, 217 fig. 26. This has been identified as a Cretan Geometric import by Payne.[3]

Bisenzio. No. 62. Montelius *op. cit.* Pl. 255, 11 (the shorter lines in the handle zone should be zigzag and not straight as in Montelius' drawing). Both paint and clay are local. The vase clearly derives from an eighth-century Greek Geometric original, possibly of the Cycladic class. It is a good example of the better type of vase in Class C.[4]

M.A. xxi 424 fig. 10. This vase, of the same clay and paint as the last, likewise derives from a Greek original, though far less directly. For the pattern cf. Payne, *B.S.A.* xxix 270. The original influence was possibly Creto-Cycladic.

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[1] I am, of course, not concerned with the question of the supposed Lydian origin of the Etruscans.

[2] Both clay and paint are characteristic of many purely Barbarian vases from the Etruscan cemeteries.

[3] *Necrocorinthia loc. cit.*

[4] I at one time thought that this vase belonged to Class A or B. An examination of it in the Museo Preistorico last August has convinced me that it is Class C.

M.A. xxi 428 fig. 13, perhaps belongs to the Colonisation period; cf. Johansen *op. cit.* Pl. ix, 4. The Bisenzio example is, I think, of more primitive type.

Capodimonte. Pl. 29, Nos. 63–66.[1] *N. Sc.* 1928, Pl. ix. The general scheme of the painted decoration of Nos. 63 and 64 is perhaps most reminiscent of Creto-Cypriot art but it must be admitted that most of the details might be paralleled from many parts of the Greek world. The shapes of Nos. 64–66 also seem to me to be barbarised Creto-Cypriot. For the band of birds on No. 66 compare the decoration of the askos No. 84 from the 'Warrior's Tomb' at Tarquinia. All four vases are, I think, of local workmanship but the debt of Nos. 63 and 64 to eighth-century Greek Geometric originals is very heavy. No. 63 and, perhaps, No. 64 might well belong to Class B. Nos. 65 and 66 are undoubtedly Class C.

Vetralla. No. 67. *N. Sc.* 1914, 333 fig. 24; recognised as a Cretan Geometric import by Payne.[2] Class A.

No. 68. *N. Sc.* 1914, 320 fig. 13. Class C.

No. 71. *N. Sc.* 1914, 312 fig. 6. Class B or C. For the Greek model cf. Dugas *Délos* xv Pl. xxvii 31. See Pl. 31 *y*.

Leprignano.[3] Two vases from this site seem to me to belong to the pre-colonisation period:

No. 225 (Contrada Le Saliere) in the Villa Giulia, an oinochoe of Class C. Clay friable, yellow. Paint brick-red. This vase is very closely modelled as a Greek Geometric original and I should be inclined to place it in Class B if it were not for a certain inefficiency in the drawing. The Greek original was possibly Cycladic. There is a fairly close parallel in a vase (an import?) from Tiryns, *Tiryns* i Pl. xiv 1.

No. 15265 in the Villa Giulia (Tomb CVII), cup of the type Dugas *Délos* xv Pl. xxvii nos. 24, 31. Good cream-coloured clay and lustrous brown paint. Class A. Probably Cycladic.

Veii.[4] No. 72. *N. Sc.* 1930, 50 fig. 2. The shape is possibly Etruscan, but the decoration is so typically Greek Geometric that in spite of the fact that I have not seen this vase I have no hesitation in placing it in Class B. In Class C I should place an ovoid pithos (in Florence) of white clay decorated with horizontal bands, a frieze of concentric circles and a frieze of diagonal herring-bone pattern in matt black paint, which seems to derive from a Cretan Geometric model; also several cups in the Villa Giulia which possibly derive from Cycladic Geometric originals.[1]

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[1] I have not seen these vases. My attention was first drawn to their publication in the *Notizie degli Scavi* by Miss S. Benton.

[2] *Necrocorinthia loc. cit.*

[3] There are several examples of Italo-Protocorinthian of the Globular Aryballus period from Leprignano in the Villa Giulia. From this period onwards the importation of Greek pottery and the copying of Greek originals seems to have been continuous.

[4] There is, I understand, a large quantity of Geometric material from this site in the Villa Giulia which is as yet unpublished, inaccessible and invisible.

Falerii and Territorio Falisco. Pl. 31, No. 73. Montelius Pl. 321, 11. Villa Giulia No. 4815. Both shape and decoration are very Corinthian in character (cf. Johansen *op. cit.* Pl. ii 1 and 2) and at one time I felt certain that the vase was a Corinthian import (cf. Payne *Protokorinthische Vasenmalerei* 9 note 1), but a further inspection of the vase in the Villa Giulia last August has made me doubtful. The clay is not of the distinctively Corinthian type, being more yellow and granular. The vase is then perhaps of local origin, but whether an import or not there can be very little doubt that it is the work of a Greek (Corinthian ?) hand. Class A or B.

No. 74. *M.A.* xxii 419 fig. 155. Villa Giulia No. 5666. The yellow clay and careless drawing shew this vase to be of local manufacture. Class C. It derives, I think, from a Cycladic Geometric original.

No. 75. *Ibid.* fig. 158. Class C. Compare for the Greek original Dugas *Délos* xv Pl. xxvii 30 (also Pfuhl *A.M.* 1903 Pl. xi).

Other vases from this neighbourhood in the Villa Giulia which also belong to the pre-colonisation period are:

Nos. 4432, 4433. Cups of the local[2] friable white clay and red paint. These are the crudest possible imitations, but nevertheless bear witness to a Greek Geometric original. Class C.

No. 4442. This is, I think, undoubtedly the work of a Greek hand, but clay and paint are the same as in the last two examples and shew the vase to be local. Class B.

No. 5642. Cup. Buff clay. Red-brown paint. Class A.[3]

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[1] There are two tomb-groups in the Villa Giulia which must be mentioned here (First and Second rooms in the South wing). Tomb 779 contains a Geometric cup of greenish-yellow clay, brown paint with tinges of purple. Handle zone decorated with vertical lines and herringbone pattern. The vase is undoubtedly Class A. The colour and texture of clay and paint seem to me to indicate Corinth as its place of manufacture. Tomb 785 contains a flat cup of good purified pinkish clay decorated with narrow horizontal bands and a handle zone of concentric circles joined by tangents. Good brown paint. Both shape and drawing are sure and refined. Class A; possibly Corinthian (cf. Johansen *op. cit.* Pl. 3). With it were two cups of local friable white clay from which all painted decoration has disappeared but whose shapes betray the Greek Geometric original. There is also a vase in the Musée Scheurleer to which Payne has called my attention. No. 70; *C.V.A. Musée Scheurleer* i, 'Style Italo-Géometrique,' iv*b*–iv*c*, pl. 1, 1, from 'Rome.' This is either a Cretan import or local work closely modelled on a Cretan original.

[2] That this friable white clay and red paint are local is shewn by their use on vases which betray not a trace of Greek influence, *e.g.* Villa Giulia Nos. 4503, 1585.

[3] Falerii is rich in Classes B and C in the period *c.* 735 to *c.* 650 B.C., when its imports save for one Rhodian Bird Bowl of early type (Montelius *op. cit.* Pl. 323, 7) seem to have been almost exclusively Corinthian. To Class B (with a few exceptions which are certainly Class C) I should refer the amphorae and oinochoai which resemble the examples from the Fusco Cemetery at Syracuse as well as many of the vases of the type Johansen *op. cit.*

Tarquinia: Poggio di Selciatello-Sopra. Excavations of 1905, Tomb 160 = 56. Hydria of cream-coloured clay decorated with Geometric designs in red paint.[1] Both clay and paint are local, but the shape of the vase and still more the sureness of the drawing shew it to be the work of a Greek craftsman. Class B.

This tomb also contained a bowl (pyxis?) of the same clay decorated with red bands: its shape is not unlike that of the pyxis without lid from the Warrior's Tomb. Class B or C?

No. 76. *N. Sc.* 1907 p. 231 fig. 33. Tomb 174. I am unable to decide whether this vase is Class A or B. Cf. Pfuhl *A.M.* 1903 Pl. xi 7.

No. 77. Class A or B. Cf. Dugas *Délos* xv Pl. xxvii 31. Cycladic or derivative from Cycladic.

Tarquinia: the 'Warrior's Tomb.' Pl. 32, Nos. 74–84.

Most of these vases are, I think, Class A. The oinochoe No. 78 has some parallels in the Geometric imports of Canale, but the resemblance is superficial and I am unable to refer this vase to any definite category.

The askos No. 84 is probably Cretan. It has a fairly close parallel in an animal askos excavated by Payne and myself from a Geometric tomb at Knossos in 1933. The pyxis without lid, No. 79, has some sort of a parallel in an Attic vase in *A.M.* 1918 Pl. i 3. No. 82 has some affinities in Boeotian Geometric. No. 80 is perhaps Cretan.

'*Cerveteri.*' In the Cerveteri room in the Louvre under the general heading of 'Vases de style Géometrique trouvés en Italie'[2] there are the following vases of pre-colonisation date:

Pl. ix 5, 6, *e.g.* Villa Giulia Nos. 5012, 5013, 5014 to Class C. Villa Giulia Nos. 4971, 4742, 4942 to Class B. Contrast Nos. 5006 and 5008, which are Protocorinthian imports.

This period, I think, demands a fivefold classification into the work of—

1. Protocorinthian potters.
2. Cumaean (?) potters.
3. Greek potters at Falerii.
4. Barbarian potters at Falerii imitating Greek work.
5. Barbarian potters at Falerii borrowing a few Greek designs.

It is possible that in the pre-colonisation period some of the vases which I have placed in Classes A and B were made at Cumae, but we know as yet so comparatively little of the character of Cumaean pottery even in the period *c.* 735 to *c.* 650 B.C. that it would be more than hazardous to attempt to identify Cumaean pottery in the preceding period.

[1] The general shape of this vase is given in Randall MacIver *op. cit.* Pl. xi 12, but the drawing is too small to shew the character of the design in the horizontal handle zone. The bodies and wings of the birds are filled with parallel upright zigzags and the same decoration is used as filling ornament in the panel above and below the birds' bodies.

I can see no trace of the slip reported by Randall MacIver.

[2] To this general heading we must probably add Campana 18 and Campana 20 (Louvre A 490, 491), which, as they were in the Campana Collection, were almost certainly found in Italy. These two vases are Cycladic. I have omitted a Bronze Age Cycladic Oinochoe of unknown provenance (Pottier *Vases antiques du Louvre* Pl. xxix D 5) and a Mycenaean Stirrup Vase (*ibid.* D 1) found at San Cosimo near Oria in the district of Otranto, as being not strictly relevant as pre-colonisation material.

1. Three Protogeometric Stirrup Vases, Nos. 2, 3, 4 in the Cerveteri Room. Class A.

2. Two Iron Age Cypriot Aryballi, Nos. 6 and 8 in the Cerveteri Room. Class A.

3. A Cypriot Askos with Bird body. Class A.

4. A Creto-Cypriot Aryballus, No. 7 in the Cerveteri Room. Class A.

5. A Rhodian Bird Bowl of very primitive type, No. 12 in the Cerveteri Room (this vase is probably of colonisation date though obviously a very early example of this fabric). Class A.

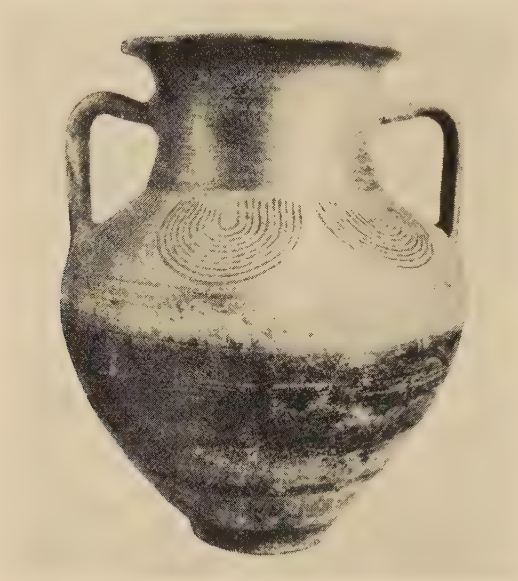

Fig. 17.—Geometric Vase from Cerveteri.

6. A 'Proto-Lydion' with long foot (cf. the example from Vulci), No. 13 in the Cerveteri Room.

7. Four Geometric Ring-Askoi,[1] Nos. 112–115 in the Cerveteri Room. Nos. 113, 114 are, I think, Class B or Class C. No. 112 Class A or Class B and No. 115 Class A. No. 115 is, I think, Cretan.

8. A Creto-Cycladic Geometric Oinochoe, No. 16 in the Cerveteri Room. Class A.

9. A Cretan (?) Geometric Oinochoe, No. 17 in the Cerveteri Room. Class A.

10. A Cycladic Geometric Amphora (Pottier *op. cit.* Pl. xxix D 18) from Cerveteri. No. 18 in the Cerveteri Room. Reproduced here Fig. 17. Class A.

11. A Cretan bottle with holes for lid-fastenings, No. 122 in the Cerveteri Room. Class A (possibly of colonisation date).

12. A Cretan Geometric Oinochoe (unnumbered in the Cerveteri Room). Class A.

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[1] No. 114 is illustrated in Pottier *op. cit.* Pl. xxxii D 114.

13. A 'Mug' of outlandish shape, No. 14 in the Cerveteri Room. Class C or D.

I propose to leave the full discussion of eighth-century Greek imports into Etruria till a future occasion.[1] Here I merely wish to point out that nothing better indicates the extent and intensity of this eighth-century Greek trade with the West than that Greek imports of that date should have penetrated to the *inland* communities at Falerii, Vetralla and Terni, and Greek artistic influence to Bisenzio, Capodimonte and Chiusi. However scanty the evidence from these sites may be, it is in itself more significant than the greater quantity of material from the coastal cities.

SOUTHERN FRANCE.

Of pre-colonisation Greek contacts with the south of France we have an authoritative discussion in Jacobsthal's *Gallia Graeca* (*Préhistoire* Vol ii fasc. 1). We are, of course, only directly[2] concerned with those imports which belong to the eighth century.

Marseilles. Pl. 33, No. 85. Jacobsthal, *op. cit.* 40 (1), fig. 37. He considers this vase to be Cycladic Geometric of the first half of the eighth century. Class A.

No. 86. *Ibid.* 40 (2), fig. 38. Jacobsthal considers this vase to be Attic of the first half of the eighth century. There is, however, a parallel in a Geometric vase from Berezanj (*J.d.I.* xxv 227–8, fig. 27; here Pl. 33 *z*) which also has affinities with No. 87, the East Greek Geometric from Hyères; compare also *Annuario* x–xii 371 fig. 487 (Arkades). As the Berezanj example is probably East Greek I should be inclined to consider No. 86 as East Greek also. Class A.

Hyères. No. 87. Jacobsthal *op. cit.* 40 (3) fig. 39. Schweitzer considers this vase to be East Greek. Class A.

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[1] I must repeat once more that the lists I have given are not exhaustive though representative.

[2] The foundation of Marseilles is dated 600 B.C. by Pseudo-Scymnus 209 ff. quoting Timaeus. Eusebius (Jerome) dates it 598 B.C. (593 B.C. Armenian Version). Athenaeus 576 A citing Aristotle indicates that the Phocaeans had traded with the country before founding the colony. The much-discussed Thucydides passage i 13, 6 implies that the colony received an additional body of settlers after the fall of Phocaea. This seems certain from Strabo 252 citing Antiochus (the emendation which converts Marseilles into Alalia can only be described as wanton). Thucydides does *not* imply that Marseilles was founded in the second half of the sixth century.

The *c.* 600 B.C. date is consistent with the archaeological evidence from the site (see Jacobsthal *op. cit. passim*); there is very little pottery earlier than the Middle Corinthian Period. For pre-colonisation imports of the *seventh* century to the south of France see Vasseur Pls. v 12, vi 10, x 2, xi 9 (?); Jacobsthal *op. cit.* fig. 40*b* (Hyères). Corinthian; Vasseur *op. cit.* Pl. vi 12 (Cretan). Possibly also some of the Rhodo-Milesian in Vasseur *op. cit.* Pl. v.

Grotte de Rousson. Two Geometric fibulae. Jacobsthal *op. cit.* 41 and 40 fig. 42.[1]

PREHELLENIC CUMAE.[2]

No. 88. *M.A.* xxii Pl. xviii nos. 7 and 9, cf. Dugas *Délos* xv Pl. xxvii 25, 26, 31. Class A. Cycladic?

CUMAE.

Cumae is the one Greek colony in the West whose foundation falls within the pre-colonisation period.[3] The evidence from her earliest colonial graves reflects precisely the same conditions of Greek commerce during that period as that from the Barbarian sites we have already considered. That is to say, down to the period *c.* 735–*c.* 690 B.C. Cumae received a variety of Greek imports from various Greek states without the products of any one particular Greek state dominating her market.[4] She is, in fact, unique in having a history as a colony before the Western Mediterranean was dominated by the pottery of Corinth and when that part of the world was still being exploited commercially by a number of Greek states.

If then there is any connection at all between Greek commerce and Greek colonisation we should expect to find that the character of the colony at Cumae and the character of its foundation reflected the character of the commercial conditions of that time. And this, I think, is what we do find in the literary tradition. For Cumae was not the parthenogenetic daughter of one Greek state but the bastard offspring of at least three, Chalcis, Eretria and Aeolian Cyme.[1] Further, a mixed origin for Cumae is, I think, demanded by the mixed alphabet of the earliest Cumaean inscriptions.[2]

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[1] I should like to take this opportunity of expressing my thanks to Professor Jacobsthal for his great kindness and assistance to me at Oxford in the spring of 1934.

[2] See note 3 below.

[3] Cumae is dated traditionally to the middle of the eleventh century B.C. So far as this can be taken at all seriously, it must be regarded as recording some westward movement of the Greeks in the period of migrations. It certainly cannot be regarded as the date of the Greek colony. Archaeologically the colony is dated earlier than Syracuse by the presence of Protocorinthian pottery of the Globular Aryballus period in greater quantities than at Syracuse, where it only occurs in the earliest graves. It is dated after *c.* 800 B.C. by the native settlement which then occupied the site and which imported two Greek Geometric vases which, stylistically, cannot be much earlier than that date. A date *c.* 775–*c.* 750 B.C. seems to be indicated, and this agrees well enough with Strabo's statement that Cumae was the oldest Greek colony in Sicily and Italy (Strabo 243). The first Greek settlements on the islands in the bay of Naples (Strabo 247) were possibly earlier, as Livy (viii 22) indicates. There is no archaeological evidence for this unless we assume, what is probable enough, that the presence of Greek pottery and intensive Greek artistic influence in Etruria of a date stylistically earlier than the contents of the earliest graves at Cumae demands a Greek centre of distribution in the neighbourhood of an earlier date than that of Cumae.

[4] After *c.* 735 B.C.–*c.* 690 B.C. and throughout the seventh century her Greek imports have the same character as those of all cities, Greek and Barbarian, in the western Mediterranean during that period; that is to say, there is a marked preponderance of the pottery of Corinth.

Of the archaeological material published in *Monumenti Antichi*, the following vases seem to belong to the period before *c.* 735–*c.* 690 B.C.[3] Pls. 34, 35.

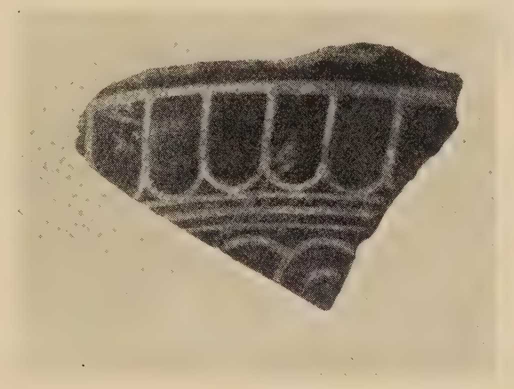

FIG. 18.—CRETAN SHERD FROM CUMAE.

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[1] Pseudo-Scymnus 238. Strabo 243, 247. Dion. Hal. VII 3. Livy viii 22. Thuc. vi 4. The fact that Thucydides only mentions Chalcis is not as serious as the uncritical exponents of ' Quellenkritik ' would like us to think. The reference is only incidental and does not describe the foundation. Further, there are reasons for believing that Cumae became the exclusive property of Chalcis in the period *c.* 735–*c.* 690 B.C. (see below, p. 206).

I can see no real reason why we should suppose that the tradition of the Aeolic element at Cumae rests on nothing better than the local patriotism of Ephorus and so conclude that the name of the colony was derived from Euboic Cyme. Is it possible (assuming that the *Theogony* is a work of Hesiod) that Hesiod's western geography was derived from his father, the merchant of Aeolic Cyme?

[2] These inscriptions consist of—1. An incised inscription on a Protocorinthian Ovoid aryballus (*c.* 675 B.C.) in the British Museum (Johansen *op. cit.* Pl. xv 5). 2. An incised inscription on the base of a Protocorinthian conical oinochoe (*M.A.* xxii Pl. 27; the beginnings of two alphabets, one of which includes the distinctive Corinthian B).

These inscriptions form the basis for the study of the early seventh-century alphabet of Cumae. To class them as Protochalcidian is to beg the whole question. Many letters differ in several important respects from the sixth-century alphabet of Chalcis as known to us from the ' Chalcidian ' pottery of that period, and the differences are not merely the differences between seventh- and sixth-century letters of the same alphabet.

[3] It is, of course, possible that some of these examples from Cumae belong to the period after *c.* 735 B.C. The criterion of date that I have applied is, in fact, purely stylistic and in itself does not support a wholesale reference of the *Cretan* Geometric to the period before *c.* 735 B.C. (see p. 183 note 2). It would, I think, be safe to say that none of the examples discussed above are much later than *c.* 690 and that many are earlier than *c.* 735 B.C.

No. 89. *M.A.* xxii Pl. xxxv 2. Class A. Cycladic?
No. 94. *Ibid.* Pl. xxxvi 2. Class A. Identified as Cretan by Payne.
No. 95. *Ibid.* Pl. xl 2. Class A. Cretan.
No. 90. *Ibid.* Pl. xl 7. Class A. Cretan (cf. Dugas *Délos* Pl. xxxix no. 32).
No. 96. *Ibid.* Pl. xli 6. Class A. Cretan.
No. 97. *Ibid.* Pl. xlii 4. Class A. Identified as Cretan by Payne.
No. 93. *Ibid.* Pl. xliv 5. Class A. Cretan.
No. 98. *Ibid.* Pl. xlix 2. Class A. Identified as Cretan by Payne.
No. 99. *Ibid.* Pl. xlix 2. Class A. East Greek (?).
Fig. 18. *Ibid.* 471 fig. 172. Class A. Identified as Cretan by Payne.
No. 91. *M.A.* xiii 272. Class A. Ditto.
No. 92. *M.A.* xiii 273. Class A. Ditto.
M.A. xiii 274. Class A. Ditto.

To these must be added a few vases of Creto-Cycladic type, a certain amount of Corinthian [1] of the Globular Aryballus period, a little unidentified Greek Geometric and perhaps a few local imitations of Protocorinthian Class B. Cumaean.

The historical conclusions to be drawn from this complex of archaeological evidence are, I think, inevitable. Greek commerce with the West preceded Greek colonisation of the West. The flag followed trade.

Over-population in old Greece undoubtedly provided the supply of colonists, the choice of sites for settlement was often in part influenced by the pressing need for cornland—so much we can allow to Gwynn. But the necessary geographical knowledge, the knowledge of friendly and hostile Barbarian peoples, of sites suitable and unsuitable for colonisation, must have come from Greek trade. To this extent colonisation was certainly influenced by commerce. But it is, I think, more than probable that the influence was greater, that colonies were planted and competitors excluded for reasons that were at least in part commercial. Otherwise the change in the character of Greek commerce with the West which comes about in the years *c.* 735 to *c.* 690 B.C. can only be described as a very remarkable coincidence. For of this there can be no doubt. The whole character of Greek trade with the western Mediterranean was absolutely and completely changed in that period. Down to *c.* 735 to *c.* 690 B.C. the West received a variety of Greek fabrics from various parts of the Greek world. The Cyclades, Crete, Corinth, East Greece, Boeotia (?) and Argos all shared in the western trade without the product of any one

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[1] *Some* of the Corinthian of the Globular Aryballus period must be earlier than the date of the foundation of Syracuse, but it would be quite useless to attempt to make even a tentative list.

state[1] dominating the market. All this is changed in the period *c.* 735 to *c.* 690 B.C. From then onwards till the end of the seventh century I do not know of any site in the West, Greek or Barbarian, whose Greek imports do not shew an overwhelming preponderance of the pottery of Corinth. Indeed, as a general rule, Corinthian imports are far more numerous on any given site than those of all other Greek states put

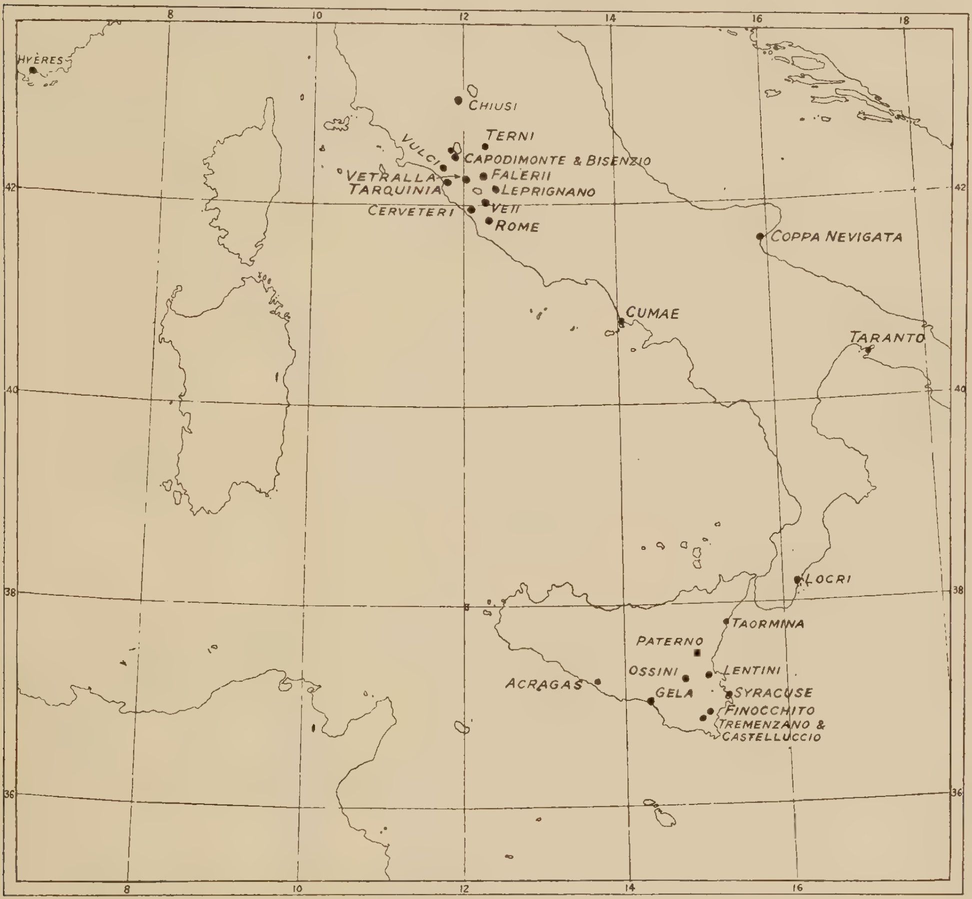
8
10
12
14
16
18
42
40
38
36
HYÈRES
CHIUSI
TERNI
VULCI
CAPODIMONTE & BISENZIO
VETRALLA
FALERII
TARQUINIA
LEPRIGNANO
CERVETERI
VEII
ROME
COPPA NEVIGATA
CUMAE
TARANTO
LOCRI
TAORMINA
PATERNO
OSSINI
LENTINI
ACRAGAS
GELA
SYRACUSE
FINOCCHITO
TREMENZANO &
CASTELLUCCIO

FIG. 19.—MAP SHOWING THE DISTRICTS IN THE WESTERN MEDITERRANEAN RECEIVING GREEK IMPORTS BEFORE *c.* 735 B.C.

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[1] The majority of the imports were undoubtedly of Cycladic type, but Cycladic, like East Greek, is a term which covers the products of a number of Greek states. I have little doubt that in time we shall be able to classify and localise the various fabrics within this general class; but at present it is impossible to do so with any certainty.

together, and on many sites most other Greek fabrics are conspicuous by their absence.[1]

That such a change in the character of Greek trade should take place during the first great wave of colonisation to the West without there being a strong causal connection between commerce and colonisation is, I think, incredible. But I am not content to leave it at that. The causal connection must, if possible, be defined, and I propose to attempt to do so by examining the possible explanations of how Corinth acquired her western commercial predominance. The first and most obvious explanation that Corinthian pottery acquired this domination of the western market simply because it was better than any other Greek pottery at that time is, I think, both inadequate as an explanation and untrue as a fact. The outstanding artistic excellence of Corinthian pottery dates from *c.* 675 to *c.* 600 B.C. Till *c.* 675, or perhaps even later, Cretan pottery was at least a good second.[2] Yet save at Gela, Veii and perhaps Cumae, little or nothing of Cretan workmanship found its way to the West, and this in spite of the comparatively wide distribution of Cretan pottery in the eighth century. Attic vase-painting did not sink into its temporary decline till after the seventh century had begun. Cycladic vases of the early seventh century are anything but contemptible in craftsmanship and artistic merit, and yet in spite of its wide distribution in the West in the eighth century I know of but one example (from Selinus) of seventh-century Cycladic from Italy and Sicily. East Greek pottery of the whole seventh century is, in its own way, a fair rival to the average product of Corinth, and yet East Greek pottery is comparatively rare in the West till the last quarter of the century. There were, in fact, plenty of artistic rivals for Corinth till *c.* 675–*c.* 650 B.C. and even later, and yet she won her position in the period *c.* 735–*c.* 690 B.C. Finally, if Corinthian pottery won its western market merely by its excellence we should expect to find it in universal demand in the eastern as well as the western Mediterranean. An eastern market Corinth certainly had in this period;[1] but it was by no means universal. Not a sherd of Corinthian pottery of any period has been found at Phocaea and,[2] so far as I know, there is not a sherd from the Pontus nor from Naucratis of earlier date than the last quarter of the seventh century. At Miletus, too, it is very rare in the first half of the century. The simple explanation of markets won by artistic merit breaks down completely.

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[1] Throughout the period *c.* 690 to *c.* 600 B.C. I know of but one example of Cycladic pottery from any western site. Cretan exports are confined to Gela and Veii (this last is an inference from the earliest Etruscan mural paintings at Veii; see Rumpf *Wandmalereien in Veii*) and possibly Cumae (see above, p. 201). East Greek fabrics are rare till the last quarter of the century and in the period *c.* 690 to *c.* 630 are only found at Gela, Syracuse and Megara Hyblaea, with scattered finds in Italy and Etruria. There is a little, very little, seventh-century Laconian from Tarentum and a little which probably comes from Etruria. There is no Attic till the last quarter of the century. These exceptions only serve to mark the contrast with the great quantities of Corinthian which are found on every site and often in themselves point to a connection between colonisation and commerce. For example, the Cretan and Rhodian pottery at Gela is only what we should expect of a joint colony of Crete and Rhodes, and the same might be said of the Laconian at Tarentum. Indeed at Tarentum one is only surprised at the rarity of this fabric in the seventh century. Further, at Gela there is at least as much Corinthian of the seventh century as of the combined products of Crete and Rhodes, and at Tarentum there is that overwhelming preponderance of Corinthian which we find on every other western site in this period. This Corinthian domination of the western pottery trade is shewn not merely by the vast numbers of the Corinthian imports but is also reflected in the local pottery of the period. Cumaean, Italo-Corinthian, Etrusco-Corinthian in all their varieties and classes, are one and all imitations of the pottery of Corinth, and the Corinthian model can often be detected in the more crude work of the Siculan potters of the seventh century. For resident Corinthian potters in Etruria and the Demaratus tradition see the literary references at the end of note 1 p. 172, see also note 3 p. 196 for the seventh-century archaeological evidence from Falerii and its neighbourhood.

[2] For the original debt of Protocorinthian pottery to Cretan models see Payne *Necrocorinthia* 5, Johansen *op. cit.* 45, Payne *Protokorinthische Vasenmalerei* 11.

The advantage of Corinth's geographical situation for the western trade combined with the artistic excellence of her pottery is, I think, a better explanation, but still inadequate to explain the facts. That geographical advantage was nothing new in the period *c.* 735 to *c.* 690 B.C. Corinth had possessed it without exploiting it throughout the ninth and eighth centuries. Some great opportunity for exploitation must have been offered to Corinth in those years which she was not slow to seize.

Of the history of that opportunity we have a hint in a literary tradition which is admittedly tantalisingly incomplete and fragmentary, but definite enough, I think, to shew that Chalcis and Corinth used force in winning their western colonies, that they disliked the competition of certain states, and possibly that they were acting in concert.

In *c.* 734 B.C. Corinth founded Syracuse,[3] and at about the same date expelled the Eretrians from Corcyra.[4] I do not believe the modern

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[1] See Payne *Necrocorinthia* 186. Johansen's lists (with a few additions from the reports of excavations published since *Les Vases Sicyoniens*), which cover the period *c.* 800 to *c.* 640 B.C., give us the following:—Rhodes (Lindos, Kamiros, Vroulia and elsewhere), Kalymnos, Crete (Praesos, Afrati, Knossos, Dikte, Arkades and elsewhere), Ephesus, 'Smyrna,' Hissarlik, Lemnos, Delos, Thera, Cyprus (Amathus, Limassol).

[2] I am indebted for this information to Professor Jacobsthal.

[3] Thuc. vi 3, 2. Strabo 380. Athenaeus iv 167*d*; date from calculations based on Thuc. vi 4. The so-called literary evidence for a previous Euboic settlement is, I think, most unsatisfactory, *e.g.* Strabo 449, Schol. Apollon. Rhod. i 419, Schol. Iliad ix 557.

[4] Plutarch *Quaestiones Graecae* xi. Date, Strabo, 262. The synchronism with Syracuse is supported by Schol. Apollon. Rhod. iv 1212 and Plutarch *Amat. Narr.* 772. Doubts have recently been cast on an Eretrian colony in Corcyra by Halliday in his edition of the *Quaestiones Graecae*. Against this the following arguments may be urged:

1. A Euboic tradition in Corcyra is supported by her sixth-century coinage, which

suggestion that at Syracuse Corinth also supplanted a Euboic settlement, but there can be no doubt that the expedition was exceedingly business-like and carefully [1] planned before the fleet set sail. In *c.* 700 B.C. Corinth was engaged in a frontier war with Megara and perhaps secured for herself that portion of the Corinthia which lies beyond the Isthmus and which had originally belonged to Megara.[2] In *c.* 735 B.C. Chalcis founded Naxos,[3] and followed this up a few years later by her foundations of Catana, Leontini, Zankle and Rhegium; [4] *c.* 730 (?) B.C. her colonists expelled the Megarians from Leontini.[5] We have thus two examples of Chalcis and Corinth colonising with the sword and excluding rivals from western sites, and further it is at least probable that Eretria as well as Megara was the enemy [6] of both.

I do not suggest that Corinth deliberately set herself to win the markets of the West by an alliance with Chalcis, colonisation and the sword; but I do suggest that her colonisation was calculated and competitive, that Corinth and Chalcis, if they were not allies, at least played into one another's hands between *c.* 735 and *c.* 690 B.C., and that the combination of the literary evidence for competition and the archaeological evidence for the radical change in the character of Greek commerce with the West in the colonisation period points to the conclusion that the cause of that competition was at least in part commercial. In other words, that the colonisation of the West was not only caused by over-population and land-hunger but also by the development of Greek trade.

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alone of those of Corinth's North-West colonies does not bear the Corinthian Pegasus but the Euboic device of the cow suckling her calf.

2. The suggestion that this device was Macedonian and acquired by Corcyra *via* the Egnatian Way route has been made improbable by the discovery on the island of Zacynthus of what is apparently a seventh-century votive disc bearing the cow and calf. This seems to shew that the device was in existence in the Ionian Islands before the Macedonian coinage. See *B.S.A.* xxxii 214, but read Corcyrean for Syracusan.

3. The standard of the coinage of Corcyra is the same as that of the earliest coinages of the Euboic colonies in Sicily, Naxos, Zancle, Himera. That is to say, it is Proto-Euboic (I am indebted for this last piece of information to Mr. E. S. G. Robinson; he cannot, however, be held responsible for the use I have made of it).

[1] The Aethiops story, which rests on the almost contemporary evidence of Archilochus, shews, I think, that the division of the land at Syracuse had been made before the expedition started. This can, of course, be used to maintain that the colony was purely agricultural, but it also shews how deliberately the expedition had been planned.

[2] Epitaph of Orsippus, Pausanias i 44, 1. Plutarch *Quaestiones Graecae* xvii seems to me probably to refer to the same struggle. See, however, Halliday's edition *ad. loc.*

[3] Thuc. vi 3, Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Chalcis. Ps.-Scymnus 270. Strabo 267, cf. Strabo 262. Date from calculations based on Thuc. vi 4 (Eusebius 737 B.C.).

[4] Thuc. vi 3–4. Strabo 257. Ps.-Scymnus 283. Pausanias iv 23, 7.

[5] Thuc. vi 4. Polyaenus v 5, 1–11.

[6] Chalcis and Eretria were presumably friends at the date of the foundation of Cumae. See above, p. 201. Strabo 448 refers their enmity to a quarrel over the Lelantine plain. I do not propose to enter into a discussion of the date of the so-called Lelantine War nor into its possible connection with the colonisation of the West.

Corinth held her market almost unchallenged till near the end of the seventh century.[1] The history that lies behind the apparent loss of that market to Athens in the first half of the sixth century does not concern us here; [2] but there is one more series of archaeological phenomena which is, I think, of some significance for the history of the relations of Corinth and Miletus in the last quarter of the seventh century. In that period East Greek pottery begins to appear in greater quantities in the West from Selinus to Marseilles. The total number of vases is not great at first, but quite sufficient to mark the contrast with the preceding period. One might be tempted to seek a complete explanation of this phenomenon in the early Phocaean voyages to the West if it were not for the fact that the same period saw the opening up of the Pontus [3] and Egypt to the pottery of Corinth. The Pontus at this time was certainly still dominated by the colonies of Miletus, and there is good reason for believing that her commercial relations with Egypt, where she had led the way in settlement, were still very extensive.[4] In suggesting that this appearance of East Greek pottery in the Corinthian markets of the West and of Corinthian pottery in the Milesian markets of the East is to be connected with the great friendship and alliance of Periander of Corinth and Thrasybulus of Miletus,[5] I am not maintaining that their friendship was cemented by a commercial understanding (though this seems to me probable enough),[6] but I do maintain that this is one more instance of the course of Greek international politics being reflected in the archaeological evidence for Greek trade.

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[1] I do not propose to discuss the evidence for Chalcis' share in the western trade in the seventh century. No Chalcidian pottery is known to exist of earlier date than the sixth century, and even this fabric, as Smith has shewn (*California Publications in Classical Archaeology* vol. i. no. 3), is very possibly a product of a Chalcidian colony in the West. The fame of Chalcidian swords is, however, as old as Alcaeus (Diehl 54, 6), and it is possible enough that her western exports consisted of metal-work which has not survived or which cannot be attributed to her on archaeological grounds. The main evidence for the fame of Chalcidian bronze is still literary rather than archaeological; see, however, Neugebauer *R.M.* 1923–4.

[2] There is, I think, reason for believing that Corinth retained a large portion of the westward commerce till a much later date, but her trade from *c.* 575–550 B.C. onwards was, I think, mainly a carrying trade. I hope to discuss this matter in the near future.

[3] Payne *Necrocorinthia* 25, 184, 187.

[4] Strabo 801 and Herodotus ii 178.

[5] Herodotus i 20 and v 92. Aristotle *Politics* 1284 A and 1311 A. Perhaps also Frontinus iii 9, 17. For the particular debt of Corinthian art to that of the Near East during the last quarter of the seventh century see Payne *Necrocorinthia* 43–54.

[6] Herodotus vi 21 and Athenaeus 519 B seem to imply a commercial understanding between Miletus and Sybaris (their friendship is often referred to the eighth century, but there is not a shred of evidence for such an early date). It can hardly be earlier than the last quarter of the seventh century, when we have the first concrete archaeological evidence of extensive East Greek commercial interests in the West both in the Greek cities and in Etruria. If Miletus had a commercial understanding with Sybaris *c.* 600 B.C., it is more than probable that her friendship with Corinth of the same date likewise had a commercial aspect.

I have called this paper ‘ Prolegomena ’ and I wish it to be understood that it is no more than such. My object has been to shew that an adequate study of Greek trade, if not of Greek economic history, will never be written until historians give full and minute attention to the archaeological evidence. I cannot but regard it as unfortunate that there is an apparently growing tendency among a certain school of Greek historians not merely to neglect Greek archaeology but to deny that it has any historical value.[1]

ALAN BLAKEWAY.

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[1] I am greatly indebted to Prof. Beazley in the archaeological section of this article, but neither he nor Mr. Payne can be held responsible for any errors there may be in my attributions. To Prof. Myres I am indebted for a suggestion as to the character of the decoration of Sicel pottery, and to Mr. Wade-Gery and Mr. R. H. Dundas for advice and encouragement in the study of the historical problems of Greek colonisation in the West. Finally I should like to thank Mr. T. J. Dunbabin for much valuable information on the subject of Sicel pottery and Dr. J. G. Milne for help with my plates.

ANNUAL MEETING OF SUBSCRIBERS

The Annual Meeting of Subscribers to the School was held in the Rooms of the Society of Antiquaries, Burlington House, on Wednesday, November 8, 1933, Sir Charles Peers, F.S.A., in the Chair.

The Chairman of the Managing Committee (Professor J. L. Myres) presented on their behalf the following Report on the activities of the School for the Session 1932–1933:—

The Chairman.—The Committee have received, with very sincere regret, the resignation of Mr. George A. Macmillan, one of the originators of the School and throughout the forty-seven years since its foundation a most active friend and counsellor, first as Secretary and subsequently as Chairman of the Managing Committee. The Hostel and the Studentship which bear his name represent but a small part of the many services, both personal and material, which he has for so long ably and generously rendered to the School.

The Director (Mr. H. G. G. Payne) arrived in Greece on December 2, 1932, having been delayed in England by official business. In Greece he was continuously at work on the Perachora finds, and as usual found that during the greater part of the session this work, combined with the administration of the School, left little opportunity for study, and none for research. In January he spent a short time in the Perachora district, visiting the Heraeum and other sites in the neighbourhood; in March he went to Thermon to study the architectural terracottas from that site. Early in April he resumed the excavations at Perachora, where he remained till May 11. Except for a few days spent in the Peloponnese, he was in Athens till the last week of the session, when he went to Crete to excavate at Knossos. After five weeks at Knossos he returned to Athens, where he stayed till he left Greece on August 11.

The Curator of Knossos, Mr. J. D. S. Pendlebury, M.A. (Pembroke College, Cambridge), reached Knossos on March 16 and remained in Crete till June 25. He continued the work of labelling and arranging the boxes of sherds from Knossos, and further supervised the rebuilding of the 'Taverna' (see below). He also made several journeys in the island, collecting material for an archaeological guide to Crete. His *Guide to the Palace* was published early this year.

Students.—Mr. R. J. H. Jenkins, B.A. (Emmanuel College, Cambridge), Senior Student and Macmillan student, reached Greece towards the end of

October 1932, and took up his duties on the departure of Mr. Heurtley on December 31. Mr. Jenkins, assisted by Mrs. Jenkins, undertook the management of the Hostel and much of the administration of the Library. In Athens he was occupied with the study of the terracottas from Perachora for the Perachora publication. He made several expeditions into the country, and later resumed his own excavation at Isthmia, leaving Greece at the end of July.

Mr. R. P. Austin, M.A. (Birmingham University), after spending some days in Athens in the early spring, went to Thebes, where he spent the greater part of his time at work on the finds from his excavations at Haliartos. Later he returned to Athens to work in the Epigraphical Museum.

Mr. J. K. Brock, M.A. (Trinity College, Cambridge), reached Greece in March. He assisted throughout two campaigns of excavations, first at Perachora, then in Mytilene, returning to England late in July.

Miss S. Benton, M.A. (Girton College, Cambridge), arrived in Greece in March and stayed till the end of September. She visited Epirus, the Paxoi islands, and Kythera, and in the late summer went to Ithaca to study the pottery. For the rest of the time she was in Athens at work on the finds from Polis, Ithaca.

Mr. C. G. Bird (Corpus Christi College, Cambridge) was admitted for the study of natural history in the Greek islands. He arrived in Greece in July 1933 and proceeded to Syra, where he hoped to form a collection of the local mammals.

Mr. R. H. Bulmer, B.A. (King's College, Cambridge), reached Greece in November and stayed till June. He divided his time between a general study of archaeology and a study of modern Greek life.

Miss M. E. K. Burnett, M.A. (Edinburgh University), who was admitted as a student, did not visit Greece.

Mr. H. Casson, B.A. (St. John's College, Cambridge), arrived in Athens early in November to study Byzantine architecture, particularly brick-work. Having visited various monuments in Athens, the Peloponnese and Central Greece, he left Athens on January 17 for Salonika and Constantinople.

Mr. R. M. Cook, B.A. (Clare College, Cambridge), Walston Student, reached Greece in November and stayed till August. He made a special study of Fikellura vases, and for this purpose spent some time in Rhodes in the summer. Previously he made a tour in Epirus with Mr. Hammond, travelled in the Peloponnese, and assisted at the excavations in Perachora, and, for a fortnight, in Mytilene.

Miss C. C. Edgar, B.A. (Somerville College, Oxford), spent three months in Greece in the late spring and early summer, during which time she studied archaic Attic sculpture: she visited Delphi and travelled in the Peloponnese.

Miss M. H. Hartley, M.A. (Manchester University), was in Greece during the winter and spring. She made a general study of sites and museums in Athens and in the country.

Mr. P. H. Jones (Balliol College, Oxford), Clarke Student, spent several weeks in Greece in the spring vacation.

Mr. E. J. A. Kenny, B.A. (Trinity College, Cambridge), spent four months in Greece making a special study of ancient hydraulics. He studied the cisterns at Perachora and at Isthmia during the excavations, and later the ancient drainage of Lake Copais and the aqueduct of Eupalinos in Samos: in Athens he paid particular attention to the cloacae and aqueducts of the city.

Mr. E. A. Lane, B.A. (St. John's College, Cambridge), School Student, was in Greece from November till the beginning of August. He made a special study of Laconian pottery and worked for a considerable time at Sparta and in other museums where there are collections of archaic pottery. He assisted at Perachora, and returned to England by way of Taranto and other Italian towns.

Miss W. Lamb, M.A. (Newnham College, Cambridge), Honorary Student, was in Greece from January to the end of July, except for the months of March and April. The first part of this time she spent working in Athens on the material from her excavations in Mytilene; in the summer she resumed the excavations (see report below), and later visited Thera and the Cyclades.

Mr. H. Megaw, B.A. (Peterhouse, Cambridge), returned to Greece with the aid of grants from the Craven and Byzantine Research and Publication Funds, to continue his study of Byzantine architecture in Greece. He arrived in Athens late in November and during the session made a series of journeys chiefly in the Peloponnese, where he visited the chief churches and collected material much of which is embodied in an article for the forthcoming volume of the *Annual*. He spent some days at Mr. Jenkins's excavation at Isthmia and the greater part of August in Chios. He left Greece on September 1.

Mr. K. E. Nelson (St. John's College, Cambridge), spent three months in Greece in the spring. He made a general study of antiquities in Athens and in the principal sites in Central and Southern Greece.

Mr. W. J. Smith, F.R.I.B.A. (of the Royal Technical College, Glasgow), R.I.B.A. Athens Bursar, spent several weeks in Greece studying Greek architecture. He visited all the principal sites and museums on the mainland, and also the temple at Aigina.

Mr. H. T. Wade-Gery, M.A. (Wadham College, Oxford), accompanied by Mrs. Wade-Gery, spent the spring and summer vacations in Greece, working chiefly at Attic history and epigraphy.

Mr. G. M. Young, M.A., C.I.E. (King's College, Cambridge), was in Greece from November to the end of June. He spent part of the time in Athens acquiring a general knowledge of archaeology, and also gave valuable assistance in the museum, and during the excavation at Perachora, by taking photographs. He assisted throughout the Perachora excavations and made two trips into the Peloponnese.

Associate.—Miss J. Michalopoulo (Courtauld Institute of Art) was in Greece for several weeks during the spring, studying Byzantine art.

A number of undergraduates from Oxford and Cambridge stayed at the Hostel during the spring and summer vacations. It has been decided to allow members of the Universities to stay in the Hostel at the same rates as Students of the School. Two parties of Hellenic Travellers were entertained at the School in the spring.

Open Meetings and Lectures.—The Director lectured on the excavations at Perachora, on November 2 to the German Archaeological Society in Berlin; on November 8 at the Annual Meeting at Burlington House; and on March 29 in Athens. He also gave informal instruction to students in the National Museum and in the Library. On February 9 Miss Lamb lectured in Athens on her excavations in Mytilene.

Publications.—Vol. XXXI of the *Annual* was published in the early spring. The Committee regret to report the resignation of Mrs. Culley, after the completion of this volume, from the honorary joint Editorship, a position which she has so admirably filled since 1925. They are glad to announce that Mr. T. C. Skeat, also a former Student, has accepted their invitation to succeed her. The final section of the account of the School's excavations at Mycenae, by Mr. A. J. B. Wace, is published in *Archaeologia*, Vol. 82. Mr. Pendlebury's *Guide to the Stratigraphical Museum at Knossos* issued this year by the School is obtainable at 50 Bedford Square, W.C.1., price 1*s*.

Excavations were conducted at the following sites:—the Heraeum at Perachora, by the Director; in Mytilene, by Miss Lamb; at the Isthmian Sanctuary, by Mr. R. J. H. Jenkins; and at Knossos jointly by the Director and Mr. A. A. Blakeway.

The School's Excavation at the Heraeum at Perachora.

(From the Director's Report.)

The excavations at the Heraeum were resumed on April 10 and concluded for the time being on May 13. It will be seen from the report which follows that, contrary to all expectations, this fourth campaign produced results hardly less interesting than its predecessors.

Owing to the amount of material now awaiting study, it has been decided not to excavate next year. Some progress has already been made with the preparation of the first volume of the publication, and the coming session will be entirely devoted to this purpose. It will be seen, in a later section, that an anonymous donation to the School has made it possible for the final results to be published in book form, but the sum in hand, large as it is, will certainly not be sufficient to cover the whole cost of publishing the site. It is therefore hoped that a break in the series of campaigns of excavation will not diminish the interest which has hitherto been taken in the work, and that when a further appeal is made for a last campaign and for the completion of the publication, the necessary funds will be forthcoming.

The principal objective of this year's campaign was the removal of the Chapel of St. John (see *J.H.S.* LII, 243, fig. 8); this task was carried out, and the Chapel was rebuilt a short distance away, higher up the hill (see Fig. 1).

Before and during the demolition of the chapel, some trials were made immediately to the south of the triglyph altar, uncovered last year (*J.H.S.* LII, 243), which stands between the chapel and the sea. Just below the foundations of the altar some very early Protocorinthian sherds were found, and the whole area was therefore systematically explored. The result was the discovery of a thick stratum of Geometric pottery, much of which is obviously earlier than the earliest Geometric from the Temenos of Hera Limenia. Study of the successive strata will certainly make possible chronological distinctions within the Geometric period. In the upper levels of this stratum were found a great number of bronze spits, some gold rings and discs, and three scarabs—of which last it may be said that, in view of the enormous number of scarabs found in the Limenia Temenos, their rarity in this Geometric deposit is obviously significant: the deposit belongs to a time before the establishment of trade relations with the Near East. But the most remarkable finds from this area—indeed some of the most remarkable which the site has yet produced—are fragments of several clay models of houses, or temples, of the Geometric period.

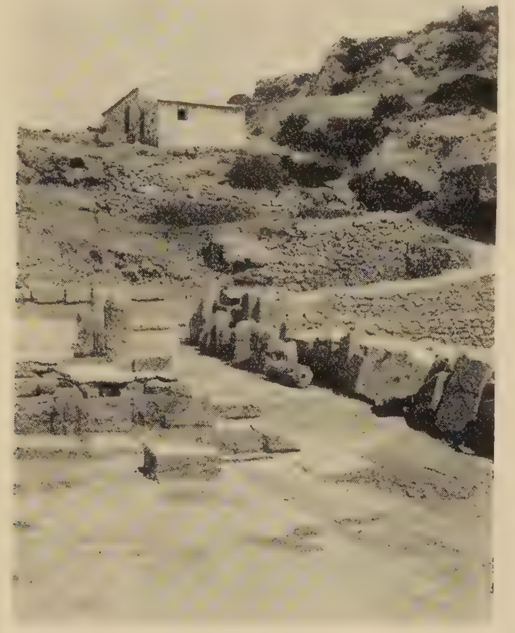

FIG. 1.—PERACHORA. In foreground, triglyph altar and fourth-century pavement; behind, the rebuilt Chapel of St. John.

One of these models is comparatively well preserved, being intact, almost throughout, up to the eaves, and there is enough of the roof to indicate the angle at which it stood. The plan is apsidal, and the building narrows perceptibly along the whole of its length towards the apse. The door is flanked on either side by an anta, and above it are three small square windows. In front of one anta (the corresponding part on the other side is missing) is a small rectangular base, on which are two slender columns, side by side. Unfortunately the upper part of the columns, together with the capitals, is lost. The exterior is painted with a large maeander, above which is a row of small impressed triangles (cf. the model from the Argive Heraeum, Oikonomos, *Arch. Eph.* 1931, 1 ff.). Although the roof is for the most part lost, it can be restored with certainty from two fragments which are obviously from the roof of another similar model. These show that the roof rose very steeply, that it was slightly curved, and that a twist of rope ran along the spine; there is good reason to suppose that the actual roof was of thatch. A third model had a roof of a different type. These models were found with Geometric pottery and are purely Geometric in style; their early date (not later than the middle of the eighth century, and in all probability well before this) cannot be doubted; it may be said, therefore, that they give us our first detailed picture of the architecture of the pure Geometric period. One of them, at least, would seem to be Argive, and this may well be true of the others. Fragments of several large Argive Geometric vases were also found here, as well as an Argive Geometric seal.

It soon became obvious that the Geometric deposit just described was a temple deposit, but there was no trace of an early building until the chapel had been removed. Then, almost exactly below the north wall of the chapel, part of the foundation of an apsidal building, a little over 6 metres long, came to light, and immediately explained the presence of the Geometric deposit, for this foundation can only be that of a Geometric temple. The foundation is laid in a stratum of prehistoric pottery (predominantly, at least, early Helladic), but Geometric was found at the level of its upper part, and the foundation itself is certainly Geometric.

There can be no doubt that this primitive temple, the earliest of the buildings at the Heraeum, is one of the predecessors of the large harbour temple, uncovered in 1930–31. This, it will be remembered, lies a few yards to the west, and is dated in the third quarter of the sixth century. It is, moreover, certain that this temple is the temple of Hera Akraia which is mentioned by ancient authors; in 1932 a fragment of an inscription with the letters AKP had been found in the Agora south of this temple; several similar inscriptions on black glazed pottery were found there this year, and leave no room for doubt as to the deity to whom the successive temples in this area were dedicated. The topography, moreover, confirms this identification, for the site is but a very short distance from the western extremity of the promontory. Parts only of two walls of the temple are preserved: the rest had been demolished probably at the time of the building of the Stoa and triglyph altar, though perhaps before this. At a later period, probably when the Stoa wall was repaired, a flight of steps was built behind the altar; these were obviously the principal means of access from the sea to the upper part of the site. In the earth below the chapel, and above the steps, was found an immense cornice block from the north-east corner of the sixth-century temple. This is of importance partly as showing that this end of the temple stood in the Roman period, and also as confirming the view already maintained, that the foundations 32 metres east of the west wall of the temple are actually those of the east front of the building. Near this was found a life-size finger from a marble statue, a sad reminder, like the bronze hand found near here last year, of the monuments which have disappeared from the site.

Minor excavations were carried out in other parts of the site—in the Agora (by Mr. Brock) and in the cisterns and houses of the town (by Messrs. Lane, Cook, and Kenny). In the temple of Hera Limenia it was discovered that three of the stones which lined the sacrificial pit (*J.H.S.* LII, 240) were inscribed with votive inscriptions of a very early date. At some time, as yet uncertain, they had been built into the sides of the sacrificial pit. That they do not belong there is proved by several facts: for example, one of the inscriptions was upside down. Two of these three dedications are well preserved, and both refer to Hera as Hera Leukolenos, a unique example of this epithet in a dedication. These two inscriptions are not precisely similar in style: one is as early in appearance as any Corinthian inscription known except that of Deinias—the other is rather later. That all three are earlier than the latter part of the seventh century is possible, and this would tally with the fact that the only sherds found below the fourth lining stone of the sacrificial pit (and this stone was almost certainly put in position after the others) were Protocorinthian. A large Geometric bronze bird was found near the Hellenistic houses west of the Temenos (Fig. 2). In the Agora the most interesting discovery was that of a thick deposit of pottery exclusively of 'transitional' and early Corinthian character: a closed deposit of this kind is naturally of importance for the chronology of new types, and of terracottas, scarabs, etc. found with it. A quantity of Roman pottery was obtained from the small Roman buildings in the Agora. In the town east of the Heraeum valley it was established that several of the houses are at least as early as the sixth century.

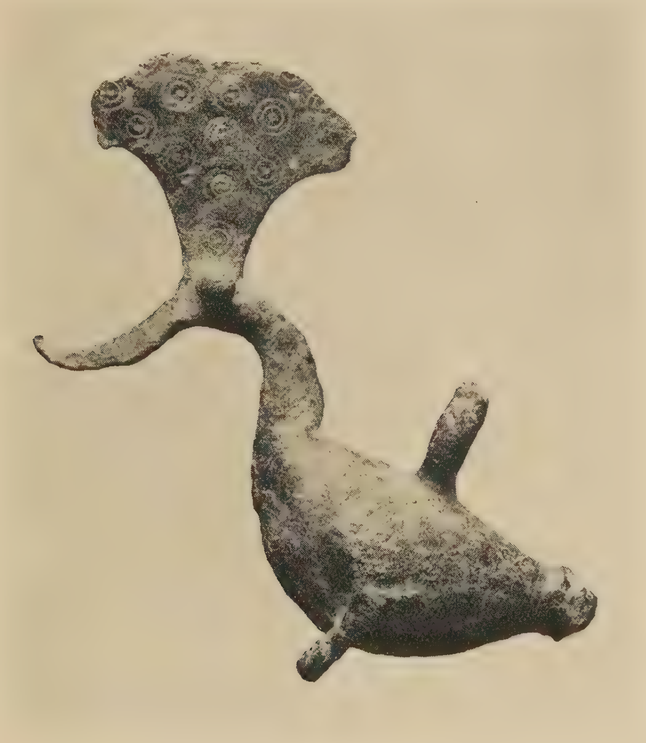

Fig. 2.—Peracнora. Bronze bird of the Geometric period.

Mytilene.

(From Miss W. Lamb's Report.)

The excavation at Antissa in Mytilene was conducted by Miss Lamb, with the assistance of Mr. Brock and Miss Six for the duration of the dig, and of Mr. Cook for the last fortnight. Mr. Brock supervised the apsidal buildings AC, Miss Six and Mr. Cook the tombs; Miss Six was also in charge of the finds.

The apsidal buildings AC.—The apse found last year at the foot of the Acropolis proved to belong to the later of two buildings, one of which lies below the other. The lower, built of small, roughly dressed stones, has its apse at the east end. On the west a cross wall cuts off a shallow porch, of which the north wall ends in a well-defined anta, while the south wall is destroyed. Another cross wall screens the apse, a third runs diagonally across the middle compartment, and incomplete subsidiary walls outside on the north may possibly represent a side entrance. Within the building and immediately below it were found fragments of the native Lesbian bucchero and of imported geometric wares, some of which are Rhodian.

The apse of the upper and later building is at the west end, and in the middle of the apse was a door blocked up at a later date. The walls are of polygonal masonry in its earliest form with occasional small stones filling difficult angles. There appear to have been two cross walls, but the east end is not preserved. Beneath the walls was fine bucchero: inside, a very shallow stratum of earth containing bucchero, Protocorinthian and Rhodian; above this stratum came fill, including small stones, Hellenistic pottery, and archaic wares, evidently part of the original deposit. There is evidence to show that the building had been dug into and refilled in the Hellenistic period (*B.S.A.* XXXII). Between the centre and the apse was a flat slab of burnt earth supported by a pile of stones, evidently an altar. Payne (*J.H.S.* LII, 240), gives some examples of altars inside early temples, and epigraphical evidence is provided for a later date by an inscription from Cos (*J.H.S.* IX, 327 ff.). The question, however, arises whether the two apsidal buildings at Antissa were temples or not. The arguments in favour of their being temples are: (i) the large deposit of fine bucchero, including one or two fibulae, in the earlier one; (ii) the presence of good imported pottery in both, and (iii) the repetition of the rare apsidal plan. It is true that practically no votives except fibulae are present, but much may have disappeared when the later building was excavated in the Hellenistic period.

Other structures on this part of the site include a paved area like a street, below which were Attic black-figure fragments, and pieces of two or three fine Corinthian craters. On the South of AC is a long narrow building, probably Hellenistic, and evidently used as a Stoa.

The Necropolis.—Two main forms of burial were employed: interments in coffins and cremations in jars. The coffins, usually of the shape associated with Clazomenian sarcophagi, date from the sixth to the fourth century or later. The vases, of various shapes, also belong to the sixth, fifth and fourth centuries. Among the contents were terracottas, Attic lekythoi of various periods, and two small glass jugs. Of these, one was found with an Attic lekythos belonging to the late sixth or early fifth century (decoration lost by corrosion), the other with late black-figure lekythoi decorated with palmettes (first half of the fifth century).

Isthmia.

(From Mr. Jenkins's Report.)

Mr. Jenkins's trial excavation at Isthmia, begun in 1932, was completed in 1933. The Byzantine fort which had been regarded as the temenos of Poseidon was thoroughly examined with the following results:—the earliest settlement there goes back to the first century A.D.; this continued till the third century. In the sixth century Justinian built a fort on the site to hold the eastern extremity of his great trans-Isthmian wall. The only pre-sixth-century part of the walls now existing is a Roman arch of the first century, which was included in the circuit wall to form the north-east gateway. A Roman head of the third century was found built into the foundations of a Byzantine house.

Areas to the west were examined, and yielded remains of the first and third centuries. In the area proposed by Fimmen as the site of the classical temenos, only Roman walls were found, the large limestone blocks lying on the surface not being connected with any traceable foundations: not one classical sherd was found here.

The banks of the Kyras Vrysi ravine, however, produced traces of an extensive archaic and classical settlement, which has been much damaged by subsequent occupation and earthquake. Excavation in a very small area produced sherds of Geometric, Protocorinthian, Corinthian, Attic and Roman pottery; also a votive terracotta of the late sixth century B.C. and a piece of painted revetment of the late fifth. As this area is apparently the only archaic and classical area in the district, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the archaic temenos of Poseidon was originally near the ravine, about half a kilometre west of the traditional site.

Knossos.

(From the report of the Director and Mr. A. A. Blakeway.)

In the last week of June and the first fortnight of July a small excavation was conducted, with funds raised by Mr. Blakeway in Oxford, in a Geometric cemetery at Knossos, where, earlier in the year, an important tomb had been found by a peasant (see Payne, *Archaeology in Greece*, *J.H.S.* LIII, pt. ii). Six new tombs were found, close to each other, and the whole group (the finds from the peasant's tomb will be published with the rest in the *Annual* of the School) forms the most important and the best preserved of all the post-Minoan cemeteries of Knossos; indeed, among all Cretan cemeteries of this period, only that of Arkades (Afrati) can be said to compare with this newly discovered group of tombs. A particularly important feature is that the tombs were all virtually undisturbed, so that it was possible, by observing the exact position of each vase in the tomb, to form, on external evidence, a fairly detailed idea of the relative dates at which the vases were placed in the tombs (see Fig. 3).

The cemetery in question lies on the western face of the so-called Acropolis of Knossos, barely half a mile from the Palace. The tombs are all chambers cut in the soft rock, approached by a short dromos. They had all collapsed, but in the great majority of cases the vases were lying, or standing, in their original positions. The burials were all cremations, the ashes being placed in large jars, from 12 to 18 inches in height; in these jars, and beside them, were smaller vases; and in men's burials there were often iron weapons, in women's, ornaments of bronze, silver, gold, stone and glass. Four of the six tombs found here were closed Protogeometric tombs, never re-used in a later period; in two, the earliest vases were Protogeometric, and from these there was a continuous sequence, through Geometric, to early Orientalising, the period thus covered being roughly from the tenth century (according to the usual chronology) to the beginning of the seventh. The closed Protogeometric tombs contained from one to three burials; in the richest of them, besides a number of small vases (stirrup-vases, kalathoi, etc.) was a large crater (decorated in style directly descended from that of the well-known vase from Mouliana), which contained a fayence ring. An imported object of this kind is naturally a great rarity in the Protogeometric period and it is hoped that it may throw some light on the absolute chronology. A few gold pins and rings, and one or two fibulae were found in these tombs, but on the whole they are markedly poorer than the Geometric and Orientalising.

One of the other two tombs contained 30 cremation jars, each with ashes, standing in position. In the dromos were several polychrome orientalising pithoi standing side by side in a recess; by one of these was an early Protocorinthian kotyle of about 700 B.C. The mouth of the tomb was blocked by a mass of stones; in the tomb the jars were stacked over each other at four levels. The small objects found include scarabs (from an Orientalising pithos), silver and electrum pins, bronze fibulae, iron pins, engraved stones, and iron weapons. The wooden sheath of one dagger was surprisingly well preserved; more remarkable still, however, was the fact that the cloth in which the ashes had been wrapped, before being placed in the vase, was not merely detectable, but sufficiently well preserved for one or two small pieces to be removed.

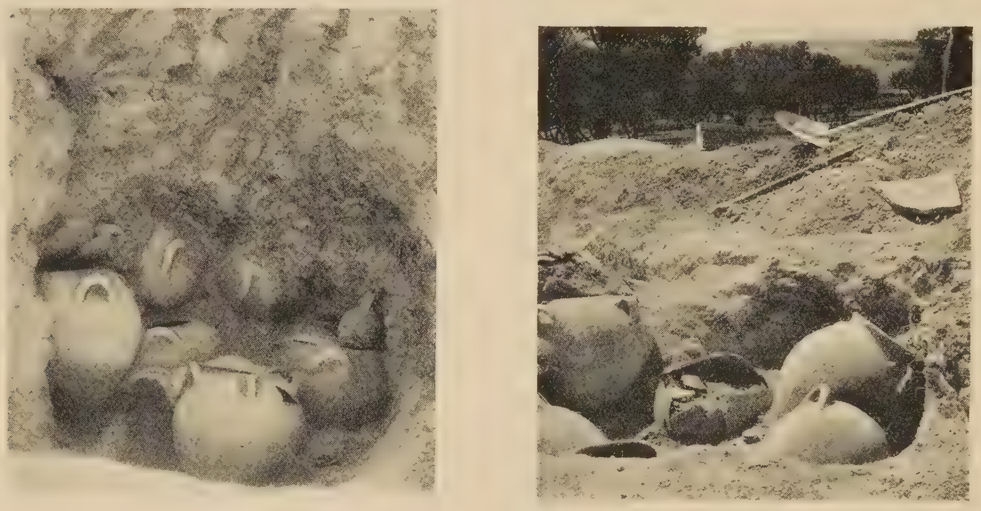

FIG. 3.—KNOSSOS. Geometric vases in tombs.

Another Protogeometric tomb was found a few yards to the east of this line of tombs, and near Fortezza, a few yards from the main road to Candia, three more tombs of the same kind were found. These also contained great quantities of pottery, much of it in good condition. Considerably more than half the work of cleaning and mending the vases from these tombs has been accomplished (the vases number over 400), thanks to a grant from the Knossos Tombs Fund, which secured the services of a mender while the excavation was in progress.

Astakos.

(The following report by Miss S. Benton on the trial excavation which she conducted in 1932 at Astakos in Akarnania is held over from last year.)

The site excavated is near the medieval site of Grabes. In one area a shallow deposit of early Bronze-Age sherds was found. Several trenches cut in a cave below the cliff yielded a big Mycenaean pithos *in situ*, and sherds of L.M. IIIA and IIIB date. Below this Mycenaean pottery was an early Bronze-Age deposit. In another cave 500 feet above sea level, near the chapel of St. Nikolas, neolithic painted pottery was found: this is interesting, as it may point to contacts with Italy and Thessaly. There were also a ' crusted ' bowl and polished sherds. In the Mycenaean pottery at Grabes was a bevelled cylix stem, and other close contacts with Ithaca were traceable; wishbone handles suggested connections with Macedonia.

The Library.—Total number of accessions, 231: in this are included 48 pamphlets and 53 bound periodicals.

Principal purchases :—Arndt-Amelung, *Einzelaufnahmen*, XIII, Text and Plates 3601–3900: *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum*, various parts; Curtius, *Die Antike Kunst* II; Déonna, *Dédale*; Deubner, *Attische Feste*; Goldman, *Excavations at Eutresis*; Graef and Langlotz, *Akropolisvasen*, II, 3; Hörmann, *Die Inneren Propyläen v. Eleusis*; Jacobsthal, *Göttinger Vasen*; *Mélanges Gustave Glotz*; Wulff, *Altchristliche und Byzantinische Kunst*; J. Strzygowski, *Die Baukunst der Armenier und Europa*; Albizzati, *Vasi antichi dipinti del Vaticano*, V; Rumpf, *Griechische und Römische Kunst*; Kern, O., *Die Religion der Griechen*; Kern, O., *Inscriptiones Graecae*; Robert, *Oidipus* I and II; Runciman, *Byzantine Civilisation*; Schazmann u. Herzog, *Kos* I; Ward, W. H., *Seal Cylinders of Western Asia*; Karo, *Schachtgräber von Mykenai* II; Wiegand, *Zweiter Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Pergamon.*

Principal gifts :—(I) Books presented by their authors :—*The Massacres of Chios* (P. Argenti); *Greek Sculpture and Painting* (J. D. Beazley and B. Ashmole); *The Technique of Early Greek Sculpture* (S. Casson); *The Population of Athens in the Vth and IVth Centuries* (A. W. Gomme); *Grekisk och Romersk Konst* (E. Kjellberg); *Protokorinthische Vasenmalerei* (H. G. G. Payne); *Guide to the Palace of Minos at Knossos* (J. D. S. Pendlebury); *New Chapters in the History of Greek Literature*, III (J. U. Powell); *Excavations at Olynthus* (D. M. Robinson); *Greek Coins* (C. T. Seltman); *Greek Historical Inscriptions* (M. N. Tod); *A Bibliographical Guide to Latium and S. Etruria* (A. W. Van Buren).

Also shorter works by the following authors :—M. Hartley, W. A. Heurtley, Sir G. F. Hill, P. Jacobsthal, E. Kjellberg, E. Kunze, B. Schweitzer, G. Soteriadis, Sp. Stathis, N. Valmin, P. Vlastos and A. Wilhelm.

(II) Other gifts :—Vasseur, *Annales du Musée de Marseille* XIII (R. D. Barnett); Ducati, *Pontische Vasen* (J. D. Beazley); Papadopoulos, *Les Palais et les Eglises de Blachernes* (A. H. S. Megaw); Dawkins, *Makhairas' Chronicle*; Baynes, *Constantine the Great and the Christian Church*, also four pamphlets (W. Miller); Langlotz, *Griechische Vasen in Würzburg* (G. M. Young); Laidlaw, *History of Delos* (M. N. Tod).

Finally, the Committee have to thank the following Institutions for gifts of books :—The Trustees of the British Museum; the Cambridge University Press; the Government of India; the Government of Cyprus; the Greek Ministry of Education; the Committee of the Third Byzantine Congress; the Visitors of the Ashmolean Museum; the French School at Athens; the American School of Classical Studies; the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago; the American Academy in Rome; the University of Michigan; the University of Lund; the Royal Institute of British Architects; the Polish Philological Society.

The School Property and Premises. The upkeep of the School's property in Athens has not required any considerable outlay during the past session, though many minor repairs have been necessary. A long stretch of the west wall of the garden, which divides the property of the School from that of the Marasleion, has been rebuilt by the Marasleion authorities; this was done at no cost to the School, beyond a very considerable amount of time and trouble expended in securing the completion of the work within a reasonable time.

At Knossos, however, heavy rains during the winter damaged the foundations of the 'Taverna' to such an extent that it was found necessary to demolish and rebuild the whole structure. A sum of £200 was generously contributed for this purpose by Sir Arthur Evans; the Curator contributed £25, and the School the balance of £110. A plan was kindly supplied by Mr. R. Lavers, architect to the Egypt Exploration Society, and the work, which is now completed, was supervised by the Curator. The new building is excellently designed, and of very attractive appearance.

The lease of the vineyard at Knossos terminated in September 1933: during his visit to Crete in July the Director devoted much time to the problem of finding a suitable tenant, and it is hoped that a satisfactory solution of this problem will soon be reached. In connection with the School's property at Knossos it may be added that the Curator would like it to be more widely known that foreign archaeologists, and those from other English excavations in the Near East, may be accommodated in the Villa during the period of the Curator's residence (March 15–June 15).

Acknowledgements.—After the Annual Meeting on November 8, 1932, the School received a most generous gift of £1000 towards the cost of publishing the results of the excavations in Perachora. The donor, who had already made a gift of £500 towards the cost of the excavations of 1932 (and thereby covered the greater part of the cost of a whole year's work) wishes to remain anonymous; it is therefore possible to say only that a problem which, owing to the wholly unexpected quantity and importance of the finds, had already become a grave embarrassment, is in a large measure solved, with the result that the final publication in book form can now be planned and undertaken.

Another Department of the School which is greatly in need of further support, the Library, has also received a special donation of £25, from Mr. E. F. Bulmer, and a publication which it would have been difficult to acquire—the Würzburg Vase Catalogue—from Mr. G. M. Young. Mr. Young has rendered a great service to the School in undertaking the vast work of photographing the Perachora finds, and has further made a generous offer of a new case to house the School's collection of antiques in Athens, and of a photographic studio to be put up in the National Museum. A second anonymous donor has, by a gift of £10, provided a large table for the Library and a number of improvements in the Hostel. The School's most sincere thanks are again offered to Canon Wigram, who collected for the School a large sum from the Hellenic Travellers who visited Greece in the spring of this year.

The officers of the Greek archaeological service, particularly Professors Kourouniotes and Oikonomos, are again asked to accept the School's thanks for their friendly co-operation, and the Copais company for its hospitality to students. In Crete the administration of the School's property at Knossos has been, as usual, greatly facilitated by the kind offices of the Vice-Consul in Candia, Mr. M. N. Elliades.

Finance.—The Revenue Account for the year shows a credit balance of £311 19*s.* 1*d.* as compared with a debit balance of £98 1*s.* 8*d.* for the preceding year. Annual Subscriptions at £952 show a satisfactory recovery, being £50 more than in the preceding year and the same amount as they were two years ago. Donations at £291 show a satisfactory increase of £207. The figures of both House and Hostel Maintenance show satisfactory decreases, while the Revenue Account has also benefited by reason of the services of an architect having been dispensed with during the year.

The generous donation of £1,000 towards the cost of publishing the results at Perachora, acknowledged above, has been placed to a Suspense Account, and the money invested in 2% Treasury Bonds.

It is much to be hoped that the Annual Subscriptions, the backbone of the School Finances, will be raised to the four-figure mark during the current session.

Sir Charles Peers moved and Mr. R. S. Weir seconded the adoption of this Annual Report and Balance Sheet, which was carried unanimously.

Prof. D. S. Robertson moved and Prof. B. Ashmole seconded, 'That the following members of the Managing Committee retiring by rotation: Miss Lamb, Sir Arthur Evans and Mr. Wace, and Mrs. Culley, lately an ex-officio member, be re-elected, and that Mr. V. W. Yorke be re-elected Honorary Treasurer.' The motion was carried unanimously.

The Director (Mr. H. G. G. Payne) lectured with lantern illustrations on the School's excavation at Perachora and his own excavation at Knossos.

Mr. John Penoyre moved a Vote of Thanks to the Chairman and to the Lecturer, and the Proceedings ended.

THE BRITISH SCHOOL AT ATHENS.

1932–1933.

RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURE ON ACCOUNT OF REVENUE.

3rd October, 1932, to 2nd October, 1933.

Dr.	£	*s.*	*d.*
Subscriptions received during the year	952	1	11
Subscriptions received for the year 1931–32	29	2	0
Subscriptions received for the year 1930–31	2	0	0
Government Grant	500	0	0
Grant by the Commissioners of the Exhibition of 1851	200	0	0
Interest on Investments	541	14	0
Interest on Deposit	2	12	7
Sales of Annuals	338	0	3
Receipts from Hostel	268	1	0
Special Donations for Excavations at Perachora	6	13	3
Knossos Site Fund. Income from Rent and Investments	493	19	9
	£3,334	4	9

Cr.	£	*s.*	*d.*	£	*s.*	*d.*
House Maintenance (as provided from London to September 30th, 1933)				235	8	7
Hostel Maintenance (as provided from London to September 30th, 1933)				330	1	0
Salary—Director				700	0	0
Salary—Assistant Director				68	15	0
Salary—Secretary				40	0	0
Director's Allowances				130	0	0
Publication of Annual				448	14	11
Rent				10	0	0
Printing, Postage, etc.				48	16	2
Studentship (Lane)				100	0	0
Fee to Senior Student (Jenkins)				25	0	0
Audit Fee				10	10	0
Expenditure on Excavations at Perachora				268	15	6
Sundry Expenses				12	11	10
Secretarial Works at Athens				28	10	0
Maintenance at Knossos:—						
Mackenzie Pension	150	0	0			
Other Expenses	380	6	8			
				530	6	8
Anna Sokridis Fund				34	16	0
Balance, being Excess of Receipts over Expenditure				311	19	1
				£3,334	4	9

BALANCE ACCOUNT—2ND OCTOBER, 1933.

Dr.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Subscriptions received in advance				18	12	0
Anniversary Fund				289	0	6
The Gustav Sachs Trust Fund (Income)				144	16	0
Macmillan Studentship (Balance of Income)				190	0	0
Suspense Account—Donation for Perachora				1,000	0	0
Knossos Library Fund as per contra				16	13	9
Add Balance representing the assets of the School other than land, buildings, and library as per last account	11,871	1	7			
Add Balance of Capital Account for the year	202	4	2			
	£12,073	5	9			
Add Balance of Revenue Account for the year	311	19	1			
				12,385	4	10
				£14,044	7	1

Cr.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Investments :—						
£2,000 India 3% Stock at par	2,000	0	0			
£3,000 3½% War Loan at 95	2,850	0	0			
£1,300 Berlin 6% Loan at cost	1,222	3	0			
£2,000 Anglo-Celtic Trust, Ltd. Debenture Stock	2,000	0	0			
£2,000 Foreign and Colonial Investment Trust, Ltd.	2,000	0	0			
£1,195 Whitehall Electric Investments, Ltd., Debentures at cost	1,237	15	3			
£1,000 Treasury Bonds 2% at cost	999	9	8			
				12,309	7	11
Income Tax recoverable				300	0	0
Knossos Library Fund as per contra				16	13	9
Cash at Bank				518	5	5
Cash on deposit				900	0	0
				£14,044	7	1

RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURE ON CAPITAL ACCOUNT.

3RD OCTOBER, 1932, TO 2ND OCTOBER, 1933.

	£	s.	d.
Donations as per List	291	4	2
Entrance Fees	21	0	0
Profit on Paris, Lyons and Mediterranée Rly. Bonds sold	16	4	0
	£328	8	2

	£	s.	d.
Library	126	4	0
Balance, being Excess of Receipts over Expenditure	202	4	2
	£328	8	2

KNOSSIAN TOMBS FUND.

	£	s.	d.
Balance from last Account	10	17	10

	£	s.	d.
Grant to H. G. G. Payne	10	17	10

MACMILLAN STUDENTSHIP FUND.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Balance from last Account	190	0	0	Grant to Mr. Jenkins	200	0	0
Interest from Investments	200	0	0	Balance to be carried forward	190	0	0
	£390	0	0		£390	0	0

THE GUSTAV SACHS TRUST FUND.

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT.

3rd October, 1932, to 2nd October, 1933.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Balance from last Account	114	17	0	Typewriting	1	8	0
Interest from Investments	31	7	0	Balance to be carried forward	144	16	0
	£146	4	0		£146	4	0

KNOSSOS LIBRARY FUND.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Balance from last Account	16	13	9	Balance to be carried forward	16	13	9

MAINTENANCE OF KNOSSOS (CAPITAL A/C).

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Balance as per last Account	109	8	0	Grant towards the deficit on rebuilding of the Taverna	109	8	0

Examined, checked, and found correct,
CRANSTOUN TODD & Co.,
3 Cannon St., London, E.C. 4.
Chartered Accountants.

2nd November, 1933.

DONATIONS—1932–1933.

	£	s.	d.
All Souls' College, Oxford	50	0	0
Bulmer, E. F. (For Library)	25	0	0
Camps, W. A.	1	0	0
Dilettanti, Society of	25	0	0
Erlangers, Ltd.	5	5	0
Gardner, Prof. P.	50	0	0
Hellenic Travellers' Society	111	18	9
Holland, Capt. L.	2	0	0
Matthews, E. A.	2	0	0
Queen's College, Oxford	5	0	0
Young, G. Mackworth	14	0	5
	£291	4	2

ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTIONS—1932-1933.

	£	s.	d.
University of Cambridge	100	0	0
University of Oxford	100	0	0
University of London	25	0	0
University of Adelaide	4	0	0
University of Reading	2	0	0
University of Sheffield	2	2	0
University of Toronto	22	3	2
Victoria University of Manchester	5	0	0
The Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies	100	0	0
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Emmanuel College, Cambridge	5	0	0
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Magdalen College, Oxford	30	0	0
New College, Oxford	5	0	0
Newnham College, Cambridge	2	0	0
Oriel College, Oxford	10	0	0
Pembroke College, Cambridge	5	0	0
Peterhouse, Cambridge	2	2	0
St. John's College, Oxford	5	0	0
Somerville College, Oxford	2	2	0
Trinity College, Cambridge	10	10	0
Trinity College, Oxford	2	2	0
University College, Oxford	2	2	0
Corpus Christi College, Oxford	5	0	0
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Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek	2	0	0
	£623	5	2

	£	s.	d.
Brought forward	623	5	2
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Allen, T. W.	1	1	0
Ashmole, Prof. B.	2	2	0
Bailey, C.	1	1	0
Bailey, Hon. Mrs.	1	1	0
Barber, E. A.	1	1	0
Barbour, G. F.	2	2	0
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Fleming, Miss	2	0	0
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Carried forward	717	8	9

	£	s.	d.
Brought forward	717	8	9
Forster, Prof. E. S.	1	0	0
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Fotheringham, J. K.	1	0	0
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Gardner, Prof. P.	2	2	0
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Gleadow, M. P.	1	1	0
Gomme, A. W.	2	0	0
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Richter, Miss G. A. M.	2	2	0
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Robinson, Dr. W.	2	2	0
Rodd, Sir R.	1	1	0
Rush, Mrs.	1	0	0
Sadler, Sir M.	2	0	0
Salter, Mrs.	1	1	0
Carried forward	£907	19	11

	£	s.	d.
Brought forward	907	19	11
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Seltman, C. T.	2	2	0
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Sloane, Miss E. J.	2	2	0
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Palairet, M., Esq., Foreign Office, Whitehall, S.W. 1.
Pantin, Mrs. W. E. P., 17, Dewhurst Road, West Kensington, W. 14.
*Parker, W. Rushton, Esq., The Royal Institution, 21, Albemarle Street, W. 1.
Payne, H. G. G., Esq., British School, Athens.
Pearson, Hon. Clive.
Pearson, Miss E. R., M.A., 4, Woburn Mansions, Francis Street, W.C. 1.
*Pendlebury, J. D. S., Esq., Winstanley, Great Malvern, Worcs.
Penoyre, John, Esq., C.B.E., 8, King's Bench Walk, Inner Temple, E.C. 4.
Penrose, Dame Emily, M.A., 14*a*, Belsize Park Gardens, N.W. 3.
Petrococchino, D. P., Esq., C.B.E., 25, Odos Timoleontos, Athens.
Pickard-Cambridge, A. W., Esq., D.Litt., F.B.A., The University, Sheffield, 10.
Piddington, J. G., Esq., c/o Messrs. Scott, Bell, & Co., 15, Queen Street, E.C. 4.
Pollock, The Right Hon. Sir F., Bart., 21, Hyde Park Place, W. 2.
Powell, Miss E., The Library, Somerville College, Oxford.
Prentrec, C. H. C., c/o Westminster Bank Ltd., 10, St. Martin's Place, W.C. 2.

Rackham, H., Esq., Christ's College, Cambridge.
Radford, Miss E., St. Anthony, nr. Port-Scatho, Cornwall.
Ramsey, Miss D., 43, Ladbroke Square, W. 11.
Raymer, Rev. R. R., c/o British Legation, Athens.
Rendall, The Rev. G. H., Litt.D., Dedham House, Dedham, Essex.
Rendel, G. W., Esq., c/o Foreign Office, Whitehall, S.W. 1.
Rennell, Lord, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., 39, Bryanston Square, W. 1.
Richards, Miss C. D., 11, Ainslie Place, Edinburgh.
Richter, Miss G. M. A., Metropolitan Museum, New York.
Robertson, Prof. D. S., Trinity College, Cambridge.
Robinson, Dr. W., Carlton House, Sunderland.
Rothschild, Lord, 148, Piccadilly, W. 1.
Routh, H. V., Esq., Wyldeways, The Avenue, North End, Hampstead, N.W. 3.
Rush, Mrs., Farthinghoe Lodge, Brackley, Northants.
Russell, A. G., Esq., 169c, Bedford Street, S., Liverpool.
Russell, T. B., Esq., Radbrook Cottage, Binfield Heath, Henley-on-Thames.

Sadler, Sir Michael, C.B., K.C.S.I., LL.D., D.Litt., University College, Oxford.
Salter, Mrs., The Crown House, Newport, Essex.
Saumarez, The Right Hon. Lord de, Shrubland Park, Coddenham, Suffolk.
Scouloudi, E., Esq., Athens.
Seebohm, Hugh, Esq., Poynder's End, Hitchin.
Seltman, C. T., Esq., 39, Barton Street, Cambridge.
Sikes, E. E., Esq., St. John's College, Cambridge.
Skeat, T. C., Esq., British Museum, W.C. 1.
Sloane, Miss E. J., 8, University Road, Leicester.
Smith, A. H., Esq., C.B., 2, Balfour Road, Weybridge.
*Smith, Admiral A. H., 87, Gloucester Place, W. 1.
Smith, Sir Cecil Harcourt-, C.V.O., LL.D., 62, Rutland Gate, S.W. 7.
Snijder, Prof. G. A. S., Archaeologisch-Historische Instituut der Universiteit, Weesperzijde 33, Amsterdam.
Sowels, F., Esq., The Rookery, Thetford, Norfolk.
*Spranger, J. A., Esq., 4, Via Micheli, Florence.
Stewart-Richardson, Miss G., 12, Odos Ilissou, Athens.

Tallents, Mrs., St. John's Jerusalem, Sutton-at-Hone, Kent.
Tancock, Lt.-Col. A. C., c/o Messrs. Cox & Co., Charing Cross, W.C. 2.
Taylor, C. F., Esq., Clifton College, Clifton, Bristol.
Teesdale, C., Esq., Bure House, Lammas, Norwich.
*Thompson, M. S., Esq., Highlands, Redhill, Surrey.
*Tillyard, Prof. H. J. W., University College, Cardiff.
Tod, M. N., Esq., O.B.E., Oriel College, Oxford.
Toynbee, Prof. A. J., 3, Medina Place, St. John's Wood, N.W. 8.
*Trevelyan, Prof. G. M., Trinity College, Cambridge.
Tufnell, Miss Olga, 14, Queensberry Place, S.W. 7.
Tuke, Miss Margaret, Pegsdon Barns, Hitchin.
Turle, Capt. C., R.N., c/o Admiralty, Whitehall, S.W. 1.
Turner, R., Esq., c/o Foreign Office, Whitehall, S.W. 1.

Ure, Mrs. Annie, The University, Reading.
Ure, Prof. P. N., University College, Reading.
Usher, Rev. P., Seend, Wilts.

Vince, J. H., Esq., Esp Hall, Ulpha, Cumberland.

Wace, Prof. A. J. B., 6a, Ashburn Gardens, S.W. 7.

Wade-Gery, H. T., Esq., Wadham College, Oxford.
Wade-Gery, Mrs. V.
Walker, J. S., Esq., 9, Odos Kriezotou, Athens.
Warren, Mrs. E., c/o Victoria Club for Ladies, 36, Grosvenor Place, S.W. 1.
West, H. H., Esq., The Chase, Lower Bourne, Farnham, Surrey.
Wheatley, N. W., Esq., Clifton College, Bristol.
Whibley, Leonard, Esq., The Dial House, Frensham, Farnham, Surrey.
Wigram, Rev. Canon W. A., D.D., Athenaeum, W. 1.
Woodhouse, Prof. W. J., The University, Sydney, N.S.W.
Woodward, A. M., Esq., 395, Fulwood Road, Sheffield.
Woodward, W. H., Esq., 48, Campden Hill Gate, Duchess of Bedford's Walk, W. 8.

Yorke, V. W., Esq., 9–13, George Street, Manchester Square, W. 1.

*Zimmern, Prof. A. E., 149, Banbury Road, Oxford.

DIRECTORS OF THE SCHOOL

1886–1934.

*F. C. Penrose, M.A., D.C.L., LL.D., F.R.S., 1886–87.
Ernest A. Gardner, Litt.D., F.B.A., 1887–95.
Cecil Harcourt-Smith, LL.D., C.V.O., 1895–97.
*David G. Hogarth, D.Litt., C.M.G., 1897–1900.
*R. Carr Bosanquet, M.A., 1900–6.
R. McG. Dawkins, M.A., F.B.A., 1906–14.
A. J. B. Wace, M.A., 1914–23.
A. M. Woodward, M.A., 1923–29.
H. G. G. Payne, B.A., 1929– .

HONORARY STUDENTS OF THE SCHOOL

*Prof. J. B. Bury. LL.D., Litt.D., D.Litt., F.B.A.	Professor of Modern History in the University of Cambridge. Elected 1895.
Sir Arthur J. Evans. LL.D., D.Litt., F.R.S., F.B.A.	Hon. Fellow of Brasenose College, Oxford. Late Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. Elected 1895.
Prof. J. Linton Myres. M.A., D.Litt., D.Sc., F.B.A.	Wykeham Professor of Ancient History, and Fellow of New College, Oxford. Elected 1896.
Prof. Ernest Gardner. Litt.D., F.B.A.	Director of the School 1887–95. Elected 1897.
*Prof. A. van Millingen. M.A., D.D.	Professor of History at Robert College, Constantinople. Elected 1904.
*W. H. Forbes. M.A.	Fellow of Balliol College, Oxford. Elected 1906.
Prof. W. J. Woodhouse. M.A.	Emeritus Professor of Greek in the University of Sydney. Elected 1908.
Prof. A. J. B. Wace. M.A., Litt.D., LL.D.	Laurence Professor of Classical Archaeology, and Fellow of Pembroke College, Cambridge. Director of the School 1914–23. Elected 1912.
Prof. J. D. Beazley. M.A., Litt.D., Ph.D., F.B.A.	Professor of Archaeology and Art, and Fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford. Elected 1914.
*E. N. Gardiner. D.Litt.	Corpus Christi College, Oxford. Elected 1914.
Prof. R. McG. Dawkins. M.A., F.B.A.	Bywater and Sotheby Professor of Byzantine and Modern Greek Language and Literature, and Fellow of Exeter College, Oxford. Director of the School 1906–14. Elected 1914.

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* Deceased.

*F. W. Hasluck. M.A.	Late Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. Assistant Director and Librarian of the School 1906–15. Elected 1915.
W. Miller. M.A., LL.D. (Athens).	Elected 1926.
M. N. Tod. M.A., F.B.A., O.B.E.	University Reader in Greek Epigraphy, and Vice-Provost and Senior Tutor of Oriel College, Oxford. Elected 1929.
Miss W. Lamb. M.A., F.S.A.	Hon. Keeper, Greek and Roman Department, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. Elected 1931.
Miss H. L. Lorimer. M.A.	Late University Lecturer in Homeric Archaeology, Oxford. Elected 1933.
Prof. H. J. W. Tillyard. M.A., D.Litt.	Professor of Greek, University College, Cardiff. Elected 1933.

STUDENTS OF THE SCHOOL[1]

1886—1934.

Ernest A. Gardner. Litt.D.	Hon. Fellow of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge. Late Vice-Chancellor, Yates Professor of Archaeology and Public Orator, University of London. Emeritus Professor and Hon. Fellow of University College, London. School Student and Craven Student 1886–87. Director of the School 1887–95. Hon. Student of the School 1897. President of the Hellenic Society 1929–32.
*David G. Hogarth. M.A., D.Litt., C.M.G.	Fellow and formerly Tutor of Magdalen College, Oxford, and first Craven Fellow. Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum. Director of the School 1897–1900. Admitted 1886–87. Re-admitted (for work in Cyprus) 1887–88.
*Rupert C. Clarke. M.A.	Exeter College, Oxford. Rector of Ellesborough, Bucks, and Rural Dean of Wendover. Admitted 1886–87.
*F. H. H. Guillemard. M.A., M.D., F.L.S., etc.	Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge. First University Reader in Geography. Admitted (for work in Cyprus) 1887–88.
Montague R. James. O.M., Litt.D.	Provost of Eton. Late Director of the Fitzwilliam Museum and Provost of King's College, Cambridge. Admitted (for work in Cyprus) 1887–88, with grant from Cambridge University.

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[1] For the war-service, military and otherwise, rendered by Students of the School, see *B.S.A.* xxiii. pp. viii–xiii.

* Deceased.

R. Elsey Smith. F.R.I.B.A.	Professor of Architecture and Construction, University College, London. Admitted as Student of Royal Institute of British Architects 1887–88.
R. W. Schultz Weir (R. Weir Schultz).	Admitted as Gold Medallist and Travelling Student in Architecture of the Royal Academy of Arts 1887–88. Re-admitted 1888–90.
*Sidney H. Barnsley.	Admitted as Student of the Royal Academy 1887–88. Re-admitted 1889–91.
J. A. R. Munro. M.A.	Balliol College, Oxford. Rector of Lincoln College, Oxford. Admitted (for work in Cyprus) 1888–89. Re-admitted (for same purpose) 1889–90.
H. Arnold Tubbs. M.A.	Pembroke College, Oxford. Professor of Classics, University College, Auckland, N.Z. Craven Fellow. Admitted (for work in Cyprus) 1888–89. Re-admitted (for same purpose) 1889–90.
Sir J. G. Frazer. O.M., LL.D., D.C.L., F.B.A.	Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. Admitted 1889–90.
†William Loring. M.A.	Late Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. Warden of Goldsmiths' College, New Cross. Secretary of the School 1897–1903. School Student 1889–90. Re-admitted as Craven Student 1890–93.
W. J. Woodhouse. M.A.	Queen's College, Oxford. Emeritus Professor of Greek, University of Sydney, N.S.W. Formerly Lecturer in Ancient History and Political Philosophy, University of St. Andrews. School Student 1889–90. Re-admitted 1891–3 (Craven Fellow), 1908–9, 1921–2. Hon. Student of the School 1908.
G. C. Richards. M.A.	Balliol College, Oxford. Late Fellow of Hertford and Oriel Colleges. Late Canon of Durham and Professor of Greek, University of Durham. Admitted as Craven Fellow 1889–90. Re-admitted 1890–91.
O. H. Parry. M.A.	Magdalen College, Oxford. Vicar of All Hallows, East India Dock. Formerly Archbishop's Missioner to the Nestorian Christians. Admitted 1889–90.
J. F. R. Stainer. M.A., B.C.L.	Magdalen College, Oxford. Admitted 1889–90.
*R. A. H. Bickford-Smith. M.A., F.S.A.	Trinity College, Cambridge. Admitted 1889–90.
*A. G. Bather. M.A.	Late Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. Late Assistant Master at Winchester College. Admitted 1889–90. Re-admitted 1891–92 (School Student), 1892–93 (Prendergast Student), 1893–94 (School Student).

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* Deceased.

† Died of wounds, October 22nd 1915.

E. E. Sikes. M.A.	President of St. John's College, Cambridge. School Student 1890–91.
J. G. Milne. D.Litt.	Corpus Christi College, Oxford. University Reader in Numismatics, and Librarian of Corpus Christi College. Late Assistant Secretary in the Board of Education. School Student 1890–91.
Sir H. Stuart Jones. D.Litt., F.B.A.	Balliol College, Oxford. Fellow and formerly Tutor of Trinity College, Oxford. Emeritus Principal of the University College of Wales. Late Camden Professor of Ancient History, University of Oxford. Formerly Director of the British School at Rome. Admitted as Craven Fellow 1890–91. Re-admitted 1892–93.
Miss Eugénie Sellers (Mrs. S. Arthur Strong). Litt.D. (Manchester), LL.D., F.S.A.	Fellow of Girton College, Cambridge. Late Assistant Director of the British School at Rome. Formerly Keeper of the Duke of Devonshire's Collections. Admitted 1890–91.
F. Brayne Baker. M.A.	Christ's College, Cambridge. Assistant Master at Malvern College. Admitted 1891–92.
C. C. Inge. M.A.	Magdalen College, Oxford. Vicar of St. Giles', Oxford. School Student 1891–92.
E. F. Benson. B.A.	King's College, Cambridge. Admitted 1891–92, with grant of £100 from the Worts Fund at Cambridge; 1892–93 (School Student), 1893–94 (Craven Student), 1894–95 (Prendergast Student).
J. G. Piddington. B.A. (J. G. Smith).	Magdalen College, Oxford. Admitted 1891–92. Re-admitted 1895–96.
V. W. Yorke. M.A.	Late Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. Hon. Treasurer of the School. Admitted 1892–93. Re-admitted 1893–94.
J. L. Myres. O.B.E., D.Sc., D.Litt., F.B.A., F.S.A.	Wykeham Professor of Ancient History, University of Oxford. Formerly Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford. Fellow of New College. Student and Tutor of Christ Church. University Lecturer in Classical Archaeology. Late Gladstone Professor of Greek in the University of Liverpool. Admitted 1892–93 as Craven Fellow. Re-admitted 1893–95. Hon. Student of the School 1896.
R. J. G. Mayor. C.B., M.A.	Late Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. Assistant Secretary in the Board of Education. Admitted 1892–93.
*R. C. Bosanquet. M.A.	Trinity College, Cambridge. Late Professor of Classical Archaeology, University of Liverpool. Assistant Director of the School 1899–1900. Director 1900–6. Admitted 1892–93. Re-admitted 1894–95, 1895–97 (Craven Student).

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* Deceased.

Sir J. M. Cheetham. M.A., K.C.M.G.	Christ Church, Oxford. Late H.M. Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Copenhagen. School Student 1892–93.
E. R. Bevan. D.Litt., LL.D.	Honorary Fellow of New College, Oxford. Admitted 1893–94.
A. F. Findlay. M.A.	Sent out as holder of Brown-Downie Fellowship by the United Presbyterian Church, Divinity Hall, Edinburgh. Admitted 1894–95.
J. G. Duncan. M.A., B.D.	Sent out from Aberdeen by the Church of Scotland. Minister of Kirkmichael, Ballindalloch. Admitted 1894–95.
J. E. Brooks. M.A.	Peterhouse, Cambridge. Admitted 1894–95. Re-admitted as Associate of the School 1896–97.
*H. Awdry. M.A.	New College, Oxford. Assistant Master at Wellington College. Admitted 1894–95.
*Duncan Mackenzie. M.A. (Edin.), Ph.D. (Vienna).	Universities of Edinburgh and Vienna. Carnegie Fellow in History, University of Edinburgh. Archaeological Curator at Knossos 1926–29. Admitted 1895–96. Re-admitted 1896–99.
Archibald Paterson.	University of Edinburgh. Admitted 1895–96.
C. R. Rowland Clark.	Student of the Royal Academy. Architectural Student of the School 1895–97.
C. C. Edgar. B.A.	Oriel College, Oxford. Late Secretary-General of the Egyptian Department of Antiquities. Admitted 1895–96. Re-admitted 1896–97 (Craven Fellow), 1897–99.
F. R. Earp. M.A.	Late Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. Professor of Classics, University of London (Queen Mary's College). Admitted 1896–97.
*F. A. C. Morrison. M.A.	Jesus College, Cambridge. Admitted as Prendergast Student 1896–97.
H. H. West. M.A.	Trinity College, Cambridge. Admitted 1896–97.
*Miss C. A. Hutton.	Girton College, Cambridge. Hon. Secretary of the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies. Joint Editor of the *Annual*, 1906–26. Admitted 1896–97. Associate of the School 1926.
J. G. C. Anderson. M.A.	Camden Professor of Ancient History, University of Oxford. Formerly Fellow of Lincoln College. Student, Tutor, and sometime Senior Censor of Christ Church, Oxford. Admitted as Craven Fellow 1896–97.
J. W. Crowfoot. C.B.E., M.A.	Brasenose College, Oxford. Director of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem. Late Director of Education, Sudan Government. School Student 1896–97. Re-admitted 1897–98.

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* Deceased.

W. W. Reid. B.D.	Universities of Aberdeen and Edinburgh. Minister of the Church of Scotland, Dumbarton, N.B. Admitted as holder of Blackie Travelling Scholarship 1896–97.
A. E. Henderson. F.S.A., F.R.I.B.A.	Admitted as Owen Jones Student of Royal Institute of British Architects 1897–98. Re-admitted 1898–99, 1901–3.
W. A. Curtis. D.Litt., D.D. (Edin.).	University of Edinburgh. Regius Professor of Biblical Criticism and Biblical Antiquities, University of Edinburgh. Formerly Professor of Systematic Theology, University of Aberdeen. Admitted 1897–98.
A. J. Spilsbury. M.A.	Queen's College, Oxford. Head Master of Wakefield Grammar School. Formerly Senior Classical Master, City of London School. School Student 1897–98.
E. B. Hoare.	Magdalen College, Oxford. Architectural Student of the School 1897–98.
*J. C. Lawson. M.A.	Fellow, Tutor and Lecturer of Pembroke College, Cambridge. Admitted as Craven Student 1898–99. Re-admitted 1899–1900.
C. D. Edmonds. M.A.	Emmanuel College, Cambridge. Assistant Master at Berkhamsted School. Formerly at Aldenham School and at Royal Naval College, Osborne. Admitted as Prendergast Student 1898–99.
Sir John H. Marshall, Kt. C.I.E., Litt.D., F.S.A.	King's College, Cambridge. Late Director-General of the Archaeological Survey of India. Admitted 1898–99. Re-admitted 1900–1 (Prendergast Student), 1901–2 (Craven Student).
*Clement Gutch. M.A.	King's College, Cambridge. Lecturer at St. John's College, Cambridge. School Student 1898–99.
F. B. Welch. M.A.	Magdalen College, Oxford. Late British Representative on the Commission mixte de l'Organisation des Populations Gréco-Bulgare. Formerly Vice-Consul, Athens. Admitted as Craven Fellow 1898–99. Re-admitted 1899–1900.
T. D. Atkinson. F.R.I.B.A.	Surveyor to the Dean and Chapter of Ely, to the Dean and Chapter of Winchester, and to the Warden and Fellows of Winchester College. Architectural Student of the School 1898–99.
J. K. Fotheringham. M.A., D.Litt., F.B.A.	Merton and Magdalen Colleges, Oxford. Formerly Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford. Reader in Ancient History, University of London. Reader in Ancient Astronomy and Chronology, University of Oxford. School Student 1898–99.

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* Deceased.

Canon J. H. Hopkinson. M.A.	University College, Oxford. Organiser of Religious Education in the Diocese of Carlisle. Formerly Warden of Hulme Hall and Lecturer in Classical Archaeology, University of Manchester. Admitted as Craven Fellow 1899–1901.
*Miss O. C. Köhler (Mrs. Charles Smith).	Girton College, Cambridge. Admitted 1897–1900.
D. Theodore Fyfe. F.R.I.B.A.	Surveyor to the Dean and Chapter of Chester. Master of the School of Architecture, Cambridge. Architectural Association Travelling Student 1899. Architectural Student of the School 1897–1900. Re-admitted 1933–34.
†K. T. Frost. M.A., F.R.G.S.	Brasenose College, Oxford. Lecturer at the Queen's University, Belfast. School Student 1900–1.
R. D. Wells. M.A., F.R.I.B.A.	Trinity College, Cambridge. Architectural Student of the School 1900–1.
John Penoyre. M.A., C.B.E.	Keble College, Oxford. Secretary and Librarian to the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies. Secretary to the British School at Athens 1905–19. Admitted 1900–1. Re-admitted 1906–8.
Marcus N. Tod. M.A., F.B.A., O.B.E.	Vice-Provost and Senior Tutor of Oriel College, Oxford, and University Reader in Greek Epigraphy. Craven Fellow. Assistant-Director of the School 1902–4. Admitted on appointment to "Senior Studentship" 1901–2. Hon. Student of the School 1929.
*F. W. Hasluck. M.A.	Late Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. Assistant Director and Librarian of the School 1906–15. School Student 1901–2. Re-admitted 1902–3, 1904–6. Hon. Student of the School 1915.
*C. Heaton Comyn. F.R.I.B.A., M.R.San.I.	Architectural Student of the School 1901–2. Re-admitted 1903–4.
Miss H. L. Lorimer. M.A.	Girton College, Cambridge. Fellow of Somerville College, Oxford, and Late University Lecturer in Homeric Archaeology. Admitted as Pfeiffer Travelling Student 1901–2. Re-admitted 1910–11, 1921–22. Hon. Student of the School 1933.
Baroness E. Rosenörn-Lehn.	Royal Holloway College, and University College, London. Admitted 1901–2.
A. P. Oppé. B.A.	New College, Oxford. Principal Assistant Secretary, Board of Education. Sometime Lecturer in Greek, University of St. Andrews. Lecturer in Ancient History, University of Edinburgh. Deputy Director and Secretary, Victoria and Albert Museum. Admitted 1901–2.
W. L. H. Duckworth. M.D., Sc.D.	Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge. University Lecturer in Physical Anthropology. Admitted 1902–3.

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* Deceased. † Killed in action, September 4th 1914.

C. T. Currelly. M.A., F.R.G.S., F.R.S.C.	Victoria College, Toronto. Director of the Royal Ontario Museum. Formerly Assistant to Professor Flinders Petrie, under the Egypt Exploration Fund. Admitted 1902–3. Re-admitted 1903–4.
R. McG. Dawkins. M.A., F.B.A.	Hon. Fellow of Emmanuel College, Cambridge. Bywater and Sotheby Professor of Byzantine and Modern Greek Language and Literature, University of Oxford. Director of the School 1906–14. Admitted as Craven Student 1902–3. Re-admitted 1903–4 (School Student), 1904–6. Hon. Student of the School 1914.
E. S. Forster. M.A., F.S.A., M.B.E.	Oriel College, Oxford. Professor of Greek, University of Sheffield. Formerly Assistant Lecturer, University College of N. Wales. School Student 1902–3. Re-admitted 1903–4 with grants from the Craven Fund and Oriel College.
A. J. B. Wace. M.A., Litt.D., LL.D., F.S.A.	Fellow of Pembroke College, Cambridge and Laurence Professor of Classical Archaeology. Late Deputy Keeper in the Victoria and Albert Museum. Late Lecturer in Ancient History and Archaeology, University of St. Andrews. Norton Lecturer of the American Archaeological Institute 1923–24. Prendergast Student. Craven Student. Admitted 1902–3. Re-admitted 1903–12. Director of the School 1914–23. Hon. Student of the School 1912.
†E. W. Webster. M.A.	Fellow of Wadham College, Oxford. Taylorian Scholar in German 1901. John Locke Scholar in Mental Philosophy 1904. Admitted 1902–3.
J. B. Fulton. A.R.I.B.A.	Soane Student. Admitted 1902–3.
E. F. Reynolds.	Admitted 1902–3.
M. Cary. D.Litt. (M. O. B. Caspari.)	Corpus Christi College, Oxford. Reader in Ancient History, University of London. University Scholar in German. Admitted 1903–4.
J. L. Stokes. B.A.	Pembroke College, Cambridge. Librarian of Charterhouse School since 1905. Admitted as holder of the Prior Scholarship from Pembroke College 1903–4.
Miss M. K. Welsh (Lady Daniel).	Newnham College, Cambridge. Admitted as holder of the Marion Kennedy Studentship 1903–4.
††G. Dickins. M.A.	Fellow of St. John's College, Oxford. Craven Fellow. Admitted 1904–5. Re-admitted 1905–6, 1906–7 (School Student), 1907–9, 1912–13.
C. C. T. Doll. M.A.	Trinity College, Cambridge. Superintending Architect at the excavations at Knossos 1905–12. Admitted 1904–5.

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† Killed in action, April 9th 1917.

†† Died of wounds, July 17th 1916.

C. H. Hawes. M.A.	Trinity College, Cambridge. Assistant Director, Boston Museum of Fine Arts. Late Professor of Anthropology, Dartmouth College, U.S.A. Admitted 1904–5. Re-admitted 1908–9.
W. A. Kirkwood. M.A. (Harvard), Ph.D. (Harvard).	University College, Toronto. Registrar of Trinity College, Toronto. Admitted 1904–5.
H. J. W. Tillyard. M.A., D.Litt. (Edinburgh).	Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge. Professor of Greek, University College, Cardiff. Late Reader in Russian, University of Birmingham. Formerly Lecturer in Greek, University of Edinburgh. Admitted 1904–5 as Assistant Librarian of the School. Re-admitted 1905–6 (School Student), 1906–7, 1908–9, 1912–13. Associate of the School 1929. Hon. Student 1933.
Miss G. M. A. Richter. Litt.D.	Girton College, Cambridge. Keeper of the Department of Classical Antiquities, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Admitted 1904–5.
J. P. Droop. M.A.	Trinity College, Cambridge. Professor of Classical Archaeology, University of Liverpool. Late Assistant to Dr. Stein in the arrangement of his collections. Admitted 1905–6. Re-admitted 1906–7 (Prendergast Student), 1907–8 (School Student), 1908–9, 1910–11, 1912–14, 1921–22.
Miss M. Hamilton. M.A., D.Litt. (Mrs. L. D. Caskey.)	University of St. Andrews. Admitted as holder of a Research Fellowship under the Carnegie Trust 1905–6. Re-admitted 1906–7.
A. C. B. Brown. M.A.	New College, Oxford. Fereday Fellow of St. John's College, Oxford. Formerly Assistant Lecturer in Classics, Manchester University. Assistant Master at Marlborough College. Admitted 1905–6.
F. Orr.	Admitted 1905–6.
R. Traquair. F.R.I.B.A.	Professor of Architecture, McGill University, Montreal. Architectural Student of the School 1905–6. Re-admitted 1906–7 as Student of the Byzantine Fund.
Miss E. B. Abrahams. M.A. (Mrs. Culley.)	Bedford College, London. Joint Editor of the *Annual* 1925–32. Admitted 1905–6.
W. J. Farrell. M.A., M.C.	Late Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge. Education Officer under Palestine Administration. Admitted 1906–7. Re-admitted 1907–10.
Walter S. George.	Travelling Student in Architecture of the Royal College of Art. Soane Medallist of Royal Institute of British Architects. Late Assistant to Architects of Imperial Delhi. Admitted 1906–7. Re-admitted 1908–10 (as Student of the Byzantine Research Fund), 1912–13.

*T. E. Peet. M.A.	Queen's College, Oxford. Officer of Egypt Exploration Society. Professor of Egyptology, University of Oxford. Late Professor of Egyptology, University of Liverpool. Admitted as Craven Fellow 1906–7. Re-admitted as Pelham Student in the British School at Rome 1908–9.
A. M. Woodward. M.A.	Late Classical Demy of Magdalen College, Oxford. Lecturer in charge of the Department of Ancient History, University of Sheffield. Director of the School 1923–29. Assistant Director 1909–10, 1922–23. Admitted 1906–7. Re-admitted 1907–9.
W. M. Calder. LL.D., F.B.A.	Christ Church, Oxford. Professor of Greek, University of Edinburgh. Formerly Wilson Travelling Fellow, Aberdeen University. Research Student, Brasenose College, Oxford. Admitted 1907–8.
W. Harvey.	Gold Medallist and Travelling Student of the Royal Academy. Admitted 1907–8.
H. Pirie-Gordon. M.A., D.S.C.	Magdalen College, Oxford. Admitted 1907–8.
M. S. Thompson. M.A., O.B.E.	Corpus Christi College, Oxford. Holder of Chas. Oldham Scholarship. Craven Fellow. Admitted 1907–8. Readmitted 1908–12. Hon. Secretary of the School 1919–27.
A. C. Sheepshanks. B.A.	Trinity College, Cambridge. Assistant Master at Eton. Admitted 1907–8.
N. Whatley. M.A.	Late Fellow of Hertford College, Oxford. Headmaster of Clifton College. Admitted 1907–8.
†G. L. Cheesman. M.A.	Fellow and Lecturer of New College, Oxford. Admitted 1908–9.
A. W. Gomme. B.A.	Trinity College, Cambridge. Lecturer in Greek History and Archaeology, University of Glasgow. Late Assistant Lecturer in Classics, Liverpool University. Prendergast Student. Admitted 1908–9. Re-admitted 1919–20, 1922–23.
L. B. Budden. M.A., A.R.I.B.A.	Professor in the School of Architecture, University of Liverpool. Admitted 1909–10.
S. W. Grose. M.A.	Fellow and Senior Tutor of Christ's College, Cambridge. From 1914, cataloguing McClean Collection of Greek Coins in the Fitzwilliam Museum. School Student 1909–10.
H. A. Ormerod. M.A., M.C.	Queen's College, Oxford. Rathbone Professor of Ancient History, University of Liverpool. Late Professor of Classics, University of Leeds. Admitted 1909–10. Re-admitted 1910–11.
H. H. Jewell.	Royal Academy Gold Medallist. Admitted 1909–10.

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* Deceased.

† Killed in action, August 10th 1915.

W. R. Halliday. M.A., LL.D. (Glas.).	New College, Oxford. Principal of King's College, London. Late Rathbone Professor of Ancient History, University of Liverpool. Admitted as Craven Fellow 1910–11. Re-admitted 1912–13.
Miss D. Lamb. M.B.E. (Lady Brooke.)	Newnham College, Cambridge. Admitted 1910–11. Re-admitted 1913–14.
Miss L. E. Tennant (Mrs. F. J. Watson Taylor).	Admitted 1910–11.
E. S. G. Robinson. M.A.	Christ Church, Oxford. Assistant Keeper in the Department of Coins and Medals, British Museum. School Student 1910–11.
L. B. Tillard. B.A.	St. John's College, Cambridge. Admitted 1910–11.
A. J. Toynbee. B.A.	Late Fellow of Balliol College, Oxford. Stevenson Research Professor of International History, London School of Economics. Late Koraes Professor of Byzantine and Modern Greek Language, Literature and History, King's College, University of London. Admitted 1911–12. Re-admitted 1920–21.
R. S. Darbishire. B.A.	Balliol College, Oxford. Admitted 1911–12.
Miss M. M. Hardie. M.A. (Mrs. F. W. Hasluck.)	Newnham College, Cambridge. School Student 1911–12.
E. M. W. Tillyard. M.A., O.B.E.	Late Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge. Admitted 1911–12.
M. L. W. Laistner. M.A.	Jesus College, Cambridge. Professor of Ancient History, Cornell University, Ithaca, N.Y. Late Reader in Ancient History in the University of London. Admitted as Craven Student 1912–13. Re-admitted 1913–14 as School Student.
S. Casson. M.A.	Lincoln College, Oxford, and Senior Scholar of St. John's College. Fellow of New College. University Reader in Classical Archaeology. Assistant Director of the School 1919–22. School Student 1912–13. Re-admitted 1913–14.
R. S. Lambert.	Repton School. In charge of the Adult Education Section of The British Broadcasting Corporation.
Gordon Leith.	Holder of Herbert Baker Studentship. Admitted 1912–13.
C. A. Scutt. M.A.	Clare College, Cambridge. Professor of Greek, University of Melbourne. Admitted as Prendergast Student 1912–13. Re-admitted 1913–14.
†R. M. Heath. B.A.	Oriel College, Oxford. Craven Fellow. Admitted 1913–14.

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† Killed in action, September 16th 1916.

J. Boxwell. B.A.	Trinity College, Dublin. Travelling Scholar of Union of South Africa. Admitted 1913–14.
Miss M. N. L. Taylor (Mrs. H. C. Bradshaw).	Newnham College, Cambridge. Admitted 1913–14.
J. Arnott Hamilton. M.A.	University of Edinburgh. Holder of the Blackie Travelling Scholarship. Admitted 1913–14.
Miss E. Radford.	Admitted 1913–14.
Miss Agnes Conway. M.B.E. (Mrs. Horsfall.)	Admitted 1913–14.
Rev. W. A. Wigram. D.D.	Chaplain to British Legation, Athens 1923–26. Admitted 1913–14. Associate of the School 1926.
†C. B. Moss-Blundell. B.A.	New College, Oxford. School Student elect 1914–15.
Rev. H. Collingham. B.A.	Queens' College, Cambridge. Assistant Master at Merchant Taylors' School. Admitted as Craven Student 1919–20.
M. Tierney. B.A.	University of Ireland. Professor of Ancient History, University College, Dublin. Admitted 1919–20.
A. W. Lawrence. M.A., B.Litt.	New College, Oxford. Laurence Reader in Classical Archaeology, University of Cambridge. Admitted with grant from the Craven Fund 1919–20. Re-admitted 1921–22, 1924–25 (as Craven Fellow).
*J. B. Hutton. M.A.	Lecturer in Greek History and Archaeology, University of Glasgow. Admitted with grant from the Carnegie Trustees 1920–21.
F. L. Lucas. M.A.	Trinity College, Cambridge. Fellow and Lecturer of King's College. School Student 1920–21.
B. Ashmole. M.A., B.Litt.	Hertford College, Oxford. Late Director of the British School at Rome. Yates Professor of Archaeology, University of London. Craven Fellow. Admitted 1920–21. Re-admitted 1921–22.
H. T. Wade-Gery. M.A., M.C.	New College, Oxford. University Lecturer in Greek History. Fellow and Tutor of Wadham College. Admitted 1920–21. Re-admitted 1921–23, 1932–33.
J. J. E. Hondius. Litt.Class.Doc.	University of Utrecht, Holland. Admitted as Foreign Student 1920–21.
C. A. Boethius. Dr.Phil.	University of Upsala, Sweden. Professor of Ancient History and Archaeology, University of Gothenburg. Late Director of Swedish Archaeological Institute, Rome. Admitted as Foreign Student 1920–22.
Miss L. Chandler. B.A.	University of Sheffield. Classical Mistress at the Hornsey High School. Admitted as first Sachs Student 1920–21.

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* Deceased.

† Killed in action, September 26th 1915.

Miss M. A. B. Herford. M.A. (Mrs. G. E. K. Braunholtz.)	University of Manchester, and Somerville College, Oxford. Late Lecturer in Classical Archaeology and Assistant Lecturer in Classics, University of Manchester. Admitted 1920–21.
Miss W. Lamb. M.A.	Newnham College, Cambridge. Hon. Keeper of the Greek and Roman Department, Fitzwilliam Museum. Admitted 1920–21. Re-admitted 1921–25, 1927–31. Hon. Student of the School 1931.
M. A. Hondius-Van Haeften (Mrs. J. J. E. Hondius).	University of Utrecht, Holland. Admitted as Foreign Student 1920–21.
W. A. Heurtley. B.A., O.B.E.	Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge. Diploma of Archaeology, Oxford. Librarian, Dept. of Antiquities, Jerusalem. Assistant Director and Librarian of the School 1923–32. School Student 1921–22. Re-admitted 1922–23.
R. W. Hutchinson. M.A.	St. John's College, Cambridge. Archaeological Curator at Knossos 1934. Craven Student. Admitted 1921–22. Re-admitted 1930–31.
J. E. Scott. M.A.	Emmanuel College, Cambridge. Late Fellow and Lecturer of Caius College, Cambridge. Admitted 1921–22.
E. Smith. Ph.D.	Lecturer in Classics, University of Oslo, Norway. Admitted as Foreign Student 1921–22.
*A. Smith (Mrs. E. Smith).	University of Oslo, Norway. Admitted as Foreign Student 1921–22.
E. Kjellberg. Ph.D.	University of Lund, Sweden. Assistant in the National Museum, Stockholm. Admitted as Foreign Student 1921–22.
J. Waldis. Dr.Phil.	University of Zurich, Switzerland. Professor at the Gymnasium, Lucerne. Admitted as Foreign Student 1921–22.
G. A. S. Snijder. Ph.D.	University of Utrecht, Holland. Professor of Classical Archaeology, University of Amsterdam. Admitted as Foreign Student with Travelling Fellowship from his University 1921–22.
J. Bell. M.A.	Balliol College, Oxford. Fellow of Queen's College High Master of St. Paul's School. Admitted 1922–23.
*S. S. Clarke. B.A.	Balliol College, Oxford. Fellow of Exeter College Craven Fellow. Admitted 1922–23. Re-admitted 1923–24.
B. L. Hallward. M.A.	King's College, Cambridge. Tutor and Lecturer of Peterhouse. University Lecturer in Classics. School Student 1922–23.
D. C. Macgregor. M.A.	Fellow of Balliol College, Oxford. Admitted 1922–23.

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* Deceased.

Miss J. Pybus (Mrs. A. M. Woodward).	Newnham College, Cambridge. Late Senior Classical Mistress, Newcastle Central High School. Admitted 1922–23.
A. G. Russell. B.A.	University of Liverpool. Classical Master at Holt School, Liverpool. Admitted as Sachs Student 1922–23.
C. T. Seltman. M.A.	Fellow of Queens' College, Cambridge. University Lecturer in Classics. Secretary of the Cambridge Philological Society. Norton Lecturer of the American Archaeological Institute 1929–30. Martin Lecturer in the University of Oberlin 1932. Diploma in Classical Archaeology, Cambridge. Winter Warr Scholar. Prendergast Student. Admitted 1922–23.
O. J. Todd. Ph.D. (Harv.).	Associate Professor of Classics, University of British Columbia. Admitted 1922–23.
Miss J. Webb. B.A.	University of Melbourne. Admitted 1922–23.
W. H. Alexander. M.A. (Tor.), Ph.D. (Calif.).	Professor of Classics, University of Alberta, Canada. Admitted 1923–24. Re-admitted 1925–26.
Miss C. Brönsted.	University of Copenhagen. Admitted as Foreign Student 1923–24.
W. B. C. Buchanan. B.A.	University of Edinburgh. Admitted as holder of Blackie Travelling Scholarship 1923–24.
C. W. M. Cox. B.A.	Balliol College, Oxford. Fellow of New College, Oxford. Admitted as Craven Fellow 1923–24.
W. L. Cuttle. M.A.	Emmanuel College, Cambridge. Fellow and Tutor of Downing College, Cambridge. Formerly Lecturer in Classics, University of Bristol. Admitted as Craven Student 1923–24. Re-admitted 1924–25 (School Student), 1925–26.
C. Hignett. M.A.	Fellow of Hertford College, Oxford. Admitted 1923–24.
Miss M. B. Hobling. B.A.	Somerville College, Oxford. Late Classical Mistress at the Perse Girls' School, Cambridge. School Student 1923–24. Re-admitted 1924–25 as holder of the Mary Ewart Scholarship.
Miss U. D. Hunt. M.A.	Bedford College, London. Classical Mistress, Tiffin Girls' School, Kingston-on-Thames. Formerly Lecturer at Bedford College. Admitted 1923–24.
H. H. Keen. B.A.	Balliol College, Oxford. Admitted 1923–24.
M. B. C. Tait. B.A.	Balliol College, Oxford. Admitted 1923–24.
Miss E. Tankard. B.A.	University of Liverpool. Assistant-Secretary to Institute of Archaeology, Liverpool. Keeper of the Department of Archaeology, Liverpool Museum. Admitted with grants from Holt Educational Trust and the School 1923–24. Re-admitted 1924–26.

Miss A. Wentzel.	University of Copenhagen. Admitted as Foreign Student 1923–24.
R. P. Austin. B.A., B.Litt.	University College, Reading. Lecturer in Classics, University of Birmingham. Admitted 1924–25 with grants from University College, Reading and the Cornwall County Education Committee. Re-admitted 1925–26 (as holder of a Postgraduate Travelling Studentship from University of London), 1927–28, 1930–31, 1932–33.
H. G. G. Payne. B.A.	Christ Church, Oxford. Director of the School. Admitted as holder of Oxford Travelling Scholarship in Mediterranean Archaeology 1924–26. Re-admitted 1926–27. First holder of the Macmillan Studentship 1928–29.
J. H. Iliffe. M.A.	Emmanuel College, Cambridge. Director of the Museum, Jerusalem. Late Lecturer at Toronto University. Admitted as Craven Student 1924–25.
M. A. Sisson. A.R.I.B.A.	Admitted as Jarvis Student in Architecture at the British School at Rome 1924–25. Re-admitted 1925–26.
B. I. Lawrence. B.A. (Mrs. A. W. Lawrence.)	Somerville College, Oxford. Admitted 1924–25.
Miss V. Whitfield. B.A. (Mrs. H. T. Wade-Gery.)	Somerville College, Oxford. Admitted as holder of a Gilchrist Scholarship 1924–25. Re-admitted 1927–28 (as holder of the Bryce Studentship, a Fellowship from Lady Margaret Hall, and a grant from the Ireland Fund), 1932–33.
H. Frankfort. Hist. Doct. (Leiden), M.A. (London).	Universities of Amsterdam and London. Field Director of the Iraq Expedition of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago. Admitted 1924–25.
H. A. Frankfort. Lit. n. Cand. (Mrs. H. Frankfort.)	University of Amsterdam. Admitted 1924–25.
P. Dikaios.	Admitted on nomination of the Government of Cyprus 1924–25.
H. Box. M.A.	St. John's College, Oxford. Lecturer in Classics at University College, Hull. School Student 1925–26.
G. A. D. Tait. M.A.	St. John's College, Cambridge. Assistant Master at Eton College. Admitted with a Scholarship from his College 1925–26.
O. Davies. B.A.	Exeter College, Oxford. Lecturer in Archaeology and Ancient History, Queen's University, Belfast. Admitted as holder of the Clarke Memorial Exhibition 1926. Re-admitted 1927–28 (as Craven Fellow), 1928–30.
Miss E. Scott.	Oxford Home Student. Admitted 1925–26.

Miss J. Toynbee. M.A., Ph.D.	Fellow of Newnham College, Cambridge. University Lecturer in Classics. Admitted as Student of the British School at Rome 1926.
R. A. Cordingley. A.R.I.B.A.	Admitted as Student in Architecture of the British School at Rome 1925–26.
Miss K. M. T. Chrimes. B.A. (Mrs. Donald Atkinson.)	St. Hugh's Hall, Oxford. Admitted as Gilchrist Student of the British School at Rome 1925–26.
Miss N. M. Holley. B.A.	Newnham College, Cambridge. Lecturer in Classics, University College of Southampton. Admitted as Student of the British School at Rome 1925–26.
*J. T. Hawdon. B.A.	University of Birmingham. Admitted as Sachs Student 1926–27.
*Miss A. Masom. B.A.	University of London. Admitted 1926–27.
P. J. Dixon. M.A.	Late Fellow of Pembroke College, Cambridge. H.M. Diplomatic Service. Admitted as Craven Student 1927–28.
A. L. McMullen. B.A.	St. John's College, Cambridge. Admitted 1927–28.
J. D. S. Pendlebury. M.A.	Pembroke College, Cambridge. Director of Excavations at Tell el-'Amarnah, Egyptian Exploration Society. Curator at Knossos 1929–1934. School Student 1927–28. Re-admitted 1928–29, 1929–31 (Macmillan Student).
C. A. Ralegh Radford. B.A., F.S.A.	Exeter College, Oxford. Inspector of Ancient Monuments for Wales, H.M. Office of Works. Admitted 1927–28. Re-admitted 1928–29.
W. D. Woodhead. M.A. (Oxon).	Professor of Greek, McGill University, Montreal. Admitted 1927–28.
Miss S. Benton. M.A., B.Litt.	Girton College, Cambridge. Admitted 1927–28. Re-admitted 1930–34.
Miss M. Rodger. B.A.	Somerville College, Oxford. School Student 1927–28.
Miss H. White (Mrs. J. D. S. Pendlebury).	Newnham College, Cambridge. Admitted 1927–28. Re-admitted 1928–29.
W. G. Hardy. M.A.	Associate Professor of Classics, University of Alberta. Admitted 1928–29.
Mrs. Hardy.	Admitted 1928–29.
Miss M. Hartley. M.A.	Girton College, Cambridge. Classical Tutor at Somerville College, Oxford. Formerly Assistant Lecturer in Classics, University of Liverpool. Admitted 1928–29. Re-admitted with grants from School Committee, Cambridge Craven Fund and Girton College 1929–31.

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* Deceased.

H. W. Jacobs. B.A.	Wadham College, Oxford. Admitted as a Student of the School at Rome 1928. Re-admitted 1928–29.
Miss M. I. Turnbull. M.A.	Lecturer in Classics, University of Otago, Dunedin, New Zealand. Admitted 1928.
J. E. Lloyd. M.A.	King's College, Cambridge. School Student 1928–29.
Prof. T. Le Roux.	University of Cape Town. Admitted 1928–29.
W. A. Laidlaw. M.A.	Trinity College, Dublin. Formerly Lecturer in the University of Western Australia. Lecturer in the University of St. Andrews. Admitted 1928–29.
Miss C. Barratt. M.A.	Somerville College, Oxford. Admitted 1928–29.
Miss A. E. Lindsell. M.A.	Newnham College, Cambridge. Warden of Bedford College House, London. Admitted 1928–29. Re-admitted 1930–31.
Miss A. Nance.	Slade School. Admitted 1928–29.
W. K. C. Guthrie. B.A.	Trinity College, Cambridge. Fellow of Peterhouse, Cambridge. Admitted as Craven Student 1928–29.
G. D. Hake. M.A., F.R.I.B.A.	Headmaster of the School of Architecture of the Royal West of England Academy, Bristol. Admitted as first holder of the R.I.B.A. Bursary 1929–30.
N. G. L. Hammond. M.A.	Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge. Fellow and Tutor of Clare College, Cambridge. Admitted as first holder of the Sandys Studentship 1929–30.
Miss M. L. Macdonnell. M.A.	Lecturer in Classics, Queen's University, Kingston, Canada. Admitted 1929–30.
C. M. Robertson.	Trinity College, Cambridge. Admitted 1929–30.
Miss O. M. Rowe.	Somerville College, Oxford. School Student 1929–30.
T. C. Skeat. B.A.	Christ's College, Cambridge. Joint Editor of the *Annual*. Assistant Keeper in the Department of MSS., British Museum. Admitted as Sachs Student 1929–30. Re-admitted as Walston Student 1930–31.
C. R. Wason. B.A.	Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge. Lecturer in Classical Archaeology, Edinburgh University. Formerly Lecturer at Toronto University. Admitted as first Walston Student 1929–30.
Miss J. E. Matthews. M.A.	University of Toronto. Admitted 1930–31.
Miss M. E. Hirst. M.A.	Newnham College, Cambridge. Lecturer in Classics, Birmingham University. Admitted 1930–31.
Miss B. Wilkinson. B.A.	St. Hilda's College, Oxford. Admitted 1930–31. School Student 1931–32.

R. D. Barnett. M.A.	Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. Assistant Keeper in the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities, British Museum. Secretary of the School 1934. School Student 1930–31. Re-admitted 1931–32.
J. K. Brock. M.A.	Trinity College, Cambridge. Admitted 1930–31. Re-admitted 1931–34.
R. J. Heald Jenkins. M.A.	Fellow of Emmanuel College, Cambridge. Admitted 1930–31 (Prendergast Student). Re-admitted 1931–32, 1932–33 (Macmillan Student), 1933–34 (Senior Student).
T. Burton Brown. B.A.	Emmanuel College, Cambridge. Admitted 1930–31. Re-admitted 1931–32.
Capt. H. R. Walker.	King's College, Cambridge. Admitted 1930–31.
R. F. Cole. B.Arch., F.R.I.B.A.	Liverpool University School of Architecture. Admitted as holder of R.I.B.A. Bursary 1931–32.
C. C. Cremin. B.A.	University College, Cork. St. Catherine's Society, Oxford. Travelling Student, National University of Ireland. Admitted 1931–32.
G. T. Griffith. M.A.	Fellow of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge. Admitted 1931–32.
H. Megaw. B.A.	Peterhouse, Cambridge. Admitted as Walston Student 1931–32. Re-admitted 1932–33, 1933–34 (Macmillan Student).
Miss R. D. Smith. B.A.	St. Hilda's College, Oxford. Admitted 1931–32.
R. E. Wycherley. B.A.	Queens' College, Cambridge. Admitted 1931–32.
Miss M. E. K. Burnett. M.A.	University of Edinburgh. Admitted 1932–33.
K. E. Nelson. B.A.	St. John's College, Cambridge. Admitted 1932–33.
E. A. Lane. B.A.	St. John's College, Cambridge. Assistant Keeper in the Department of Ceramics, Victoria and Albert Museum. School Student 1932–33. Re-admitted 1933–34.
G. M. Young. C.I.E., M.A.	King's College, Cambridge. Secretary to the Government of India, Army Department 1926–32. Admitted 1932–33. Re-admitted 1933–34.
R. M. Cook. B.A.	Clare College, Cambridge. Assistant Lecturer in Classics, University of Manchester. Admitted as Walston Student 1932–33. Re-admitted 1933–34.
R. H. Bulmer. B.A.	King's College, Cambridge. Admitted 1932–33.
H. Casson. B.A.	St. John's College, Cambridge. Admitted 1932–33.
Miss M. H. Hartley. M.A.	Victoria University of Manchester. Admitted 1932–33.
Miss C. Edgar. B.A.	Somerville College, Oxford. Admitted 1932–33.
W. J. Smith. M.C., F.R.I.B.A.	Glasgow School of Architecture. Admitted as holder of R.I.B.A. Bursary 1932–33.

E. J. A. Kenny. B.A.	Trinity College, Cambridge. Admitted 1932–33.
C. G. Bird. B.A.	Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. Admitted 1932–33.
A. Andrewes. B.A.	New College, Oxford. Fellow of Pembroke College. School Student 1933–34.
T. S. Bell. B.A.	University College, Cardiff. Admitted as Sachs Student 1933–34.
A. Birnie. M.A.	University of Aberdeen. Admitted 1933–34.
Miss E. Eccles. B.A.	Royal Holloway College, London and Liverpool University. Admitted 1933–34.
W. B. Edwards. A.R.I.B.A.	Master of Architecture, Armstrong College, Newcastle. Admitted as holder of R.I.B.A. Bursary 1933–34.
G. E. Kirk. B.A.	Queens' College, Cambridge. Admitted as Sandys Student 1933–34.
Miss S. Mills. B.A.	University College, London. Admitted 1933–34.
The Hon. M. Money-Coutts. B.A.	Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford. Admitted 1933–34.
E. de Peyer. B.A.	Magdalen College, Oxford and University College, London. Admitted 1933–34.
E. J. P. Raven. B.A.	King's College, Cambridge. Admitted 1933–34.
Miss B. Segall.	Admitted 1933–34.
G. A. Short.	Oriel College, Oxford. Admitted as Craven Fellow 1933–34.
Miss M. Wynn-Thomas. B.A.	St. Hilda's College, Oxford. Admitted as Gilchrist Student of the British School at Rome 1933–34.
A. D. Trendall. B.A.	Trinity College, Cambridge. Admitted as Walston Student 1933–34.

The following have been granted the privileges of Students of the School:

A. M. Farrer.	Balliol College, Oxford. Admitted as holder of the Clarke Exhibition 1924–25.
C. G. Hardie. M.A.	Fellow of Balliol College, Oxford. Director of the British School at Rome. Admitted as holder of the Clarke Exhibition 1926–27.
I. Gallie. M.A.	Exeter College, Oxford. Fellow and Tutor of Wadham College, Oxford. Admitted as holder of the Clarke Exhibition 1927–28.
R. L. Roberts.	Exeter College, Oxford. Admitted as holder of the Clarke Exhibition 1931–32.
P. H. Jones.	Balliol College, Oxford. Admitted as holder of the Clarke Exhibition 1932–33.
R. C. Noble.	Exeter College, Oxford. Admitted as holder of the Clarke Exhibition 1933–34.

ASSOCIATES OF THE SCHOOL

*Rev. A. H. Cruikshank.	Elected	1896.
Ambrose Poynter, Esq.	,,	1896.
J. E. Brooks, Esq.	,,	1896.
Miss Louisa Pesel.	,,	1902.
J. F. Crace, Esq.	,,	1902.
Miss Mona Wilson.	,,	1903.
J. S. Carter, Esq.	,,	1903.
B. Townsend, Esq.	,,	1903.
Sir Augustus Daniel.	,,	1903.
H. W. Allen, Esq.	,,	1906.
†W. Miller, Esq.	,,	1906.
George Kennedy, Esq.	,,	1906.
Prof. A. E. Zimmern.	,,	1910.
Miss Negreponte.	,,	1912.
C. J. Ellingham, Esq.	,,	1913.
Capt. H. M. Greaves, R.A.	,,	1913.
Shirley Atchley, Δ.Γρ.	,,	1920.
*Miss C. A. Hutton.	,,	1926.
Rev. W. A. Wigram.	,,	1926
††Prof. H. J. W. Tillyard.	,,	1929.
Miss G. R. Levy.	,,	1930.
D. Dickson, Esq.	,,	1930.
Miss J. Michalopulo.	,,	1932.

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* Deceased.

† Elected Hon. Student 1926.

†† Elected Hon. Student 1933.

RULES AND REGULATIONS

OF THE

BRITISH SCHOOL AT ATHENS.

OBJECTS OF THE SCHOOL.

I. The first aim of the School shall be to promote the study of Greek archaeology in all its departments. Among these shall be (i) the study of Greek art and architecture in their remains of every period; (ii) the study of inscriptions; (iii) the exploration of ancient sites; (iv) the tracing of ancient roads and routes of traffic.

II. Besides being a School of Archaeology, it shall be also, in the most comprehensive sense, a School of Classical Studies. Every period of the Greek language and literature, from the earliest age to the present day, shall be considered as coming within the province of the School.

III. The School shall also be a centre at which information can be obtained and books consulted by British travellers in Greece.

IV. For these purposes a Library shall be formed, and maintained, of archaeological and other suitable books, including maps, plans, and photographs.

THE SUBSCRIBERS.

V. The following shall be considered as Subscribers to the School :—

(1) Donors, other than Corporate Bodies, of £10 and upwards.
(2) Annual Subscribers of £1 and upwards during the period of their subscription.

VI. Subscribers of £2 annually or more, and Donors of £20 and upwards to the general funds of the School, shall receive a copy of the *Annual* free of charge.

Subscribers of £1 annually and Donors of £10 to the general funds shall be allowed to purchase the *Annual* at a reduced rate of £1. All Subscribers shall be entitled to receive a copy of the Annual Report and to use the Library and attend the public meetings of the School in Athens.

VII. A Corporate Body subscribing not less than £50 a year, for a term of years, shall, during that term, have the right to nominate a member of the Managing Committee.

VIII. A meeting of Subscribers shall be held in October of each year, at which each Subscriber shall have one vote. A subscribing Corporate Body may send a representative. At this meeting a report from the Managing Committee shall be presented, including a financial statement and selections from the reports of the Director and Students for the season. At this meeting shall also be annually elected or re-elected the Treasurer and the Secretary of the School, two Auditors, and four members of the Managing Committee, in place of those retiring under Rule XIII. (3).

IX. Special meetings of Subscribers may, if necessary, be summoned by the Managing Committee.

THE TRUSTEES.

X. The property of the School shall be vested in three Trustees, who shall be appointed for life, except as hereinafter provided. Vacancies in the number of Trustees shall be filled up at the annual meeting of the Subscribers.

XI. In the event of a Trustee becoming unfit or incapable of acting, he may be removed from his office by a majority of three-fourths of those present at a special meeting of Subscribers summoned by the Managing Committee for that purpose, and another Trustee shall by the same majority be appointed in his place.

XII. In the event of the death or resignation of a Trustee occurring between two annual meetings, the Managing Committee shall have the power of nominating another Trustee to act in his place until the next annual meeting.

THE MANAGING COMMITTEE.

XIII. The Managing Committee shall consist of the following:—

(1) The Trustees of the School.
(2) The Treasurer and Secretary of the School and the Editor of the *Annual*.
(3) Twelve Members elected by the Subscribers at the annual meetings. Of these, four shall retire in each year, at first by lot, afterwards by rotation. Members retiring are eligible for re-election.
(4) The members nominated by Corporate Bodies under Rule VII.

XIV. The Committee shall have control of all the affairs of the School, and shall decide any dispute that may arise between the Director and Students. They shall have power to deprive any Student of the use of the school premises.

XV. The Committee shall meet as a rule once in every two months; but the Secretary may, with the approval of the Chairman and Treasurer, summon a special meeting when necessary.

XVI. Due notice of every meeting shall be sent to each member of the Committee by a summons signed by the Secretary. Three members of the Committee shall be a quorum.

XVII. In case of an equality of votes, the Chairman shall have a second or casting vote.

XVIII. In the event of vacancies occurring among the officers or on the Committee between the annual elections, they may be provisionally filled up by the Committee until the next annual meeting.

HONORARY STUDENTS, HONORARY ASSOCIATES, STUDENTS, AND ASSOCIATES.

XIX. The Students shall consist of the following:—

(1) Holders of travelling fellowships, studentships, or scholarships at any University of the British Empire.
(2) Travelling Students sent out by the Royal Academy, the Royal Institute of British Architects, the Byzantine Research and Publication Fund, or other similar bodies.
(3) Other persons who shall satisfy the Managing Committee that they are duly qualified to be admitted to the privileges of the School.

XX. No person, other than a student of the British School at Rome, shall be admitted as a Student who does not intend to reside at least three months in Greek lands. In the case of Students of the British School at Rome, an aggregate residence of four months at the two Schools will be accepted as alternative to three months' residence in Greece.

XXI. Students attached to the School will be expected to pursue some definite course of study or research in a department of Hellenic studies, and to write in each season a report upon their work. Such reports shall be submitted to the Director, shall by him be forwarded to the Managing Committee, and may be published by the Committee if and as they think proper.

XXII. Intending Students are required to apply to the Secretary. They will be regarded as Students from the date of their admission by the Committee to the 31st day of October next following; but any Student admitted between July 1st and October 31st in any year shall continue to be regarded as a Student until October 31st of the following year.

XXIII. The Managing Committee may elect as Honorary Students or as Honorary Associates of the School such persons as they may from time to time deem worthy of that distinction. They may also elect as Associates of the School any persons actively engaged in study or exploration in Greek lands.

XXIV. Honorary Students, Honorary Associates, Students, and Associates shall have a right to use the Library of the School and to attend all lectures given in connexion with the School, free of charge.

XXV. Students shall be expected to reside in the Hostel provided for them, except with the sanction of the Managing Committee. Priority of claim to accommodation in the Hostel shall be determined by the Committee.

THE DIRECTOR.

XXVI. The Director shall be appointed by the Managing Committee, on terms which shall be agreed upon at the time, for a period of not more than three years. He shall be eligible for re-election.

XXVII. He shall have possession of the school-building as a dwelling-house.

XXVIII. It shall be his duty (1) to guide and assist the studies of Students and Associates of the School, affording them all the aid in his power, and also to see that reports are duly furnished by Students, in accordance with Rule XXI., and placed in the hands of the Secretary before the end of June; (2) to assist in editing the School *Annual*.

XXIX. Public Meetings of the School shall be held in Athens during the season, at which the Director and Students of the School shall read papers on some subject of study or research, and make reports on the work undertaken by the School.

XXX. He may at his discretion allow persons, not Students of the School, to use the Library and attend the public meetings and lectures of the School.

XXXI. He shall be resident at Athens from the beginning of November in each year to the end of the following June, but shall be at liberty to absent himself for short periods for purposes of exploration or research.

XXXII. At the end of each season he shall report to the Managing Committee—(i) on the studies pursued during the season by himself and by each Student; (ii) on the state of the School-premises and the repairs needed for them; (iii) on the state of the Library and the purchases of books, &c., which he may think desirable; and (iv) on any other matter affecting the interests of the School.

XXXIII. In case of misconduct the Director may be removed from his office by the Managing Committee by a majority of three-fourths of those present at a meeting specially summoned for the purpose. Of such meeting at least a fortnight's notice shall be given.

THE ASSISTANT DIRECTOR AND LIBRARIAN.

XXXIV. The Assistant Director shall be appointed by the Managing Committee, on terms which shall be agreed upon at the time, for a period of not more than three years. He shall be eligible for re-election.

XXXV. It shall be his duty to take charge of the Library and to be responsible for the Hostel, subject to the Director's approval and control, and otherwise help if required in the management of the School.

RULES FOR THE MACMILLAN HOSTEL.

XXXVI. The Director shall have power to exclude a Student from the Hostel in case of misconduct; but such exclusion must be immediately reported to the Managing Committee.

XXXVII. The Students shall pay an entrance fee of £2 2*s.* per session, and a fixed charge of 3*s.* a night or £1 a week for the small rooms in the Hostel. Two Students sharing a large room shall pay a reduced charge. These payments shall include fire, lighting, and the necessary servants' wages. Students shall also be required to pay the cost of their messing.

XXXVIII. Honorary Students, Honorary Associates, Associates, Members of the Committee, and ex-Directors may be admitted to residence in the Hostel. Other persons, if seriously engaged in study or research, may be admitted by the Director at his discretion. But no person shall reside in the Hostel under this rule to the exclusion of any Student desiring admission.

XXXIX. Residents other than Students or Associates shall pay an entrance fee of £2 2*s.* for any period up to three months, or £5 5*s.* per session, and a fixed charge of 6*s.* a night or £2 a week and the cost of messing. Associates shall be admitted to the Hostel at Student rates.

THE VILLA ARIADNE AT KNOSSOS.

XL. The Archaeological Curator at Knossos shall be appointed[1] by the Managing Committee for a period of not more than three years. He shall be eligible for re-election.

XLI. It shall be his duty (1) to reside generally at the Villa Ariadne from February 15th to August 15th; (2) to supervise the house and property generally and to see that the Palace and other excavated buildings are properly cared for.

XLII. He shall hold with regard to the Director of the School, the same position as the Assistant Director.

XLIII. Students residing at the Villa, and not engaged on an actual School excavation, shall pay the same charges as in the Hostel at Athens. With regard to the "Taverna," special arrangements will be made.

RULES FOR THE LIBRARY.

XLIV. The Director shall have power to make rules for the management of the Library, its use by Students, and the like; such rules to be subject to the approval of the Managing Committee.

PUBLICATION.

XLV. No publication whatever, respecting the work of the School, shall be made without the previous approval of the Committee. The Committee of the School shall have the first claim upon any written work done by a Student from material collected during the tenure of a Studentship at the School or with the aid of a grant from the School, and also upon the reports of excavations conducted under an official permit obtained through the School. No such work may be published elsewhere than in the *Annual* of the School without the previous consent of the Committee; always provided that such consent shall not be unreasonably withheld.

THE FINANCES.

XLVI. All money received on behalf of the School beyond what is required for current expenses shall be invested in the names and at the discretion of the Trustees.

XLVII. The banking account of the School shall be placed in the names of the Treasurer and Secretary, who shall sign cheques jointly.

XLVIII. The first claim on the revenue of the School shall be the maintenance and repair of the School premises in Athens and the Villa Ariadne, and the payment of rates, taxes, and insurance.

XLIX. The second claim shall be the salaries of the Director and other officials of the School, as arranged between them and the Managing Committee.

Revised, 1932.

---

[1] Subject to the approval of Sir Arthur Evans.

MANAGING COMMITTEE, 1932–33.

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DIRECTOR.

H. G. G. Payne, Esq., B.A.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CURATOR AT KNOSSOS.

J. D. S. Pendlebury, Esq., M.A., 1929–1934.
R. W. Hutchinson, Esq., M.A., 1934– .

British School at Athens.

The School was founded in 1886 to provide British students of Greek literature, art, archaeology and history with the opportunity of pursuing their researches in Greece itself, with the command of the means which recent great advances of knowledge have rendered indispensable.

The School buildings at Athens are situated on the slopes of Lycabettus on ground presented by the Greek Government. They consist of a house for the Director, and the Macmillan Hostel with accommodation for the Assistant Director and students. Adjoining the hostel is the Penrose Library (so called after the first Director of the School), which contains over 9,000 volumes, classical texts, histories, works on art, archaeology and topography, a rich series of maps, and archaeological periodicals. In the common room of the hostel is housed the Finlay Library, which formerly belonged to George Finlay, the historian of Byzantine and Modern Greece. This collection includes many rare pamphlets, and MSS. dealing with the period of the Greek Revolution, and a collection of Byroniana.

Facilities are afforded for using the libraries and attending the lectures of the other foreign schools, and by the kindness of the Greek Archaeological Service permits are granted giving Students free access to the Museums.

In 1926 Sir Arthur Evans, with the consent of the Greek Government, presented to the Trustees of the School his properties in Crete, including the Villa Ariadne and the site of the Palace at Knossos. He further endowed his gift in order to provide for the upkeep of the Palace and for the maintenance of an Archaeological Curator, who resides in the Villa Ariadne from February to August each year. He has also (1933) renovated the old 'Taverna' in the garden of the Villa so as to provide residential accommodation for the use, at any time, of one or two members of the School independently studying the antiquities of the spot. A library is being formed in the Villa for the use of students working in Crete.

The School at Athens is open from November 1st until July 1st, during which time either the Director or Assistant Director is in residence.

Any duly qualified British subject may be admitted as a member of the School, and Students of the British School at Rome have the privilege of admission as a matter of course.

A Studentship (value £100) is offered each year to the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge alternately; about every three years the Gustav Sachs Memorial Studentship (value £100) is open to all Universities in the British Isles; and a Studentship (value £200 per annum), founded in 1928 by Mr. George Macmillan, is tenable for two years by a man of British nationality.

Holders of Travelling Fellowships, Studentships or Scholarships at any University of the British Empire, and Travelling Students sent out by the Royal Academy, the Royal Institute of British Architects, the Byzantine Research and Publication Fund, or other similar bodies, are also admitted as Students.

Students, except for an entrance fee of £2 2*s*. per session, have to pay only a rent for their rooms and the cost of their messing. The cost of living in 1934 was about 5*s*. per day, 2*s*. 6*d*. for food alone.

All Students are normally required to pursue a definite course of study and to reside in Greek lands for at least three months. The Committee, however, is accustomed to modify these regulations in the case of resident members of the Universities, whose time is necessarily limited, and in the case of Students of the School at Rome.

All applications for admission by intending Students should be made to the Secretary, British School at Athens, 50, Bedford Square, London, W.C. 1.

Archaeological excavation is carried on each year by the Director with members of the School. The list of excavations made by the School includes Megalopolis, Sparta, Mycenae, sites in Cyprus, Thessaly, and Boeotia, Phylakopi in Melos and in Crete Palaikastro and the Dictaean Cave. The results of these excavations, with reports of the other work of the School, are published in the *Annual of the British School at Athens*.

Apart from a Government subsidy of £500, the School is entirely dependent on donations and subscriptions from individuals and from corporate bodies, academic and others.

Individual subscribers of £2 per annum or donors of £20 to the General Fund of the School receive the current volume of the *Annual* free of charge; subscribers of £1 or donors of £10 are entitled to purchase a copy for an additional £1. (The published price is about £3 3*s*.)

Any subscriber, when in Athens, is entitled to the full use of the Library.

Further donations and annual subscriptions are urgently required to meet the cost of upkeep, which has become much heavier in recent years, and should be sent to the Hon. Treasurer, V. W. Yorke, Esq., 9–13 George Street, Manchester Sq., London, W. 1.

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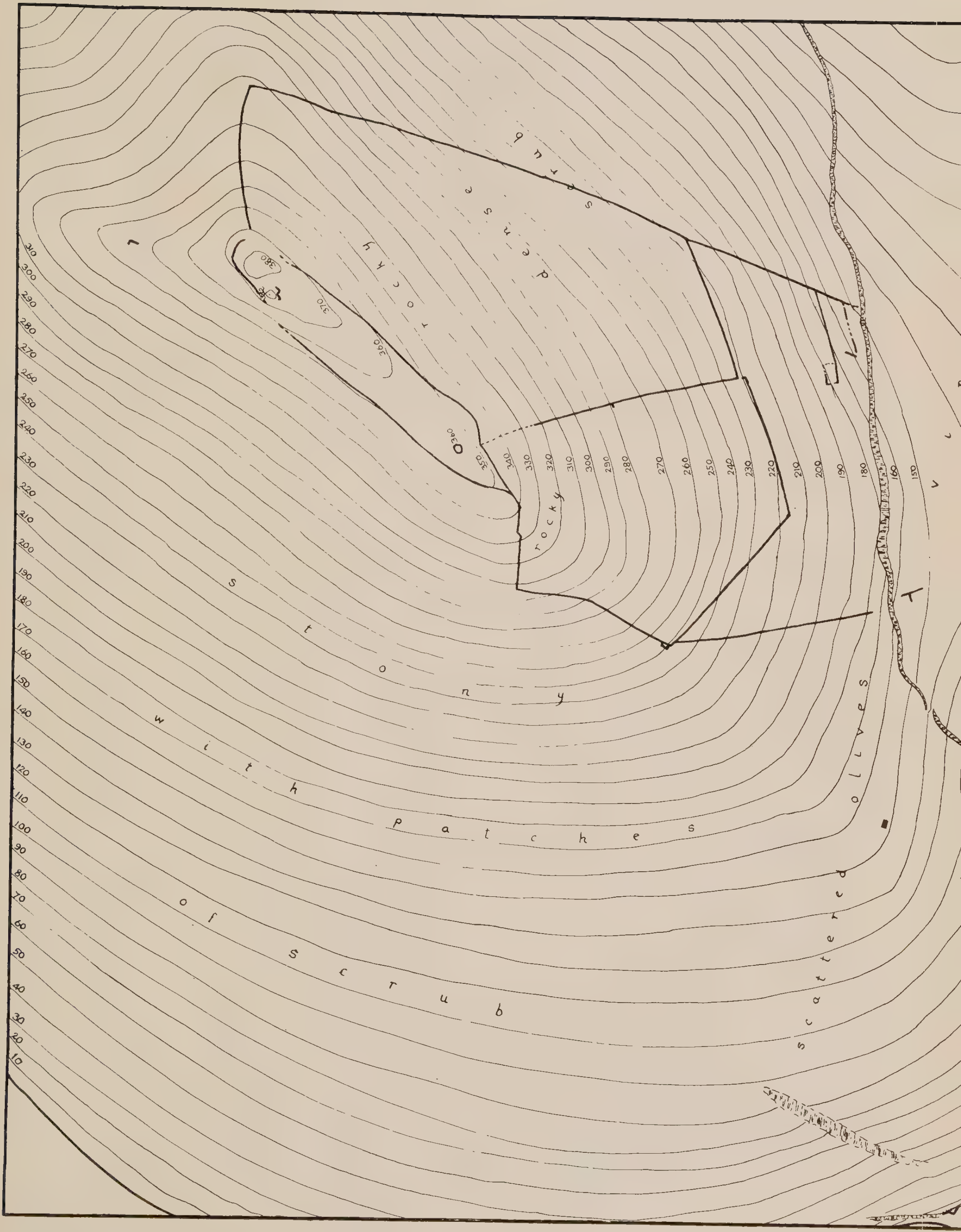
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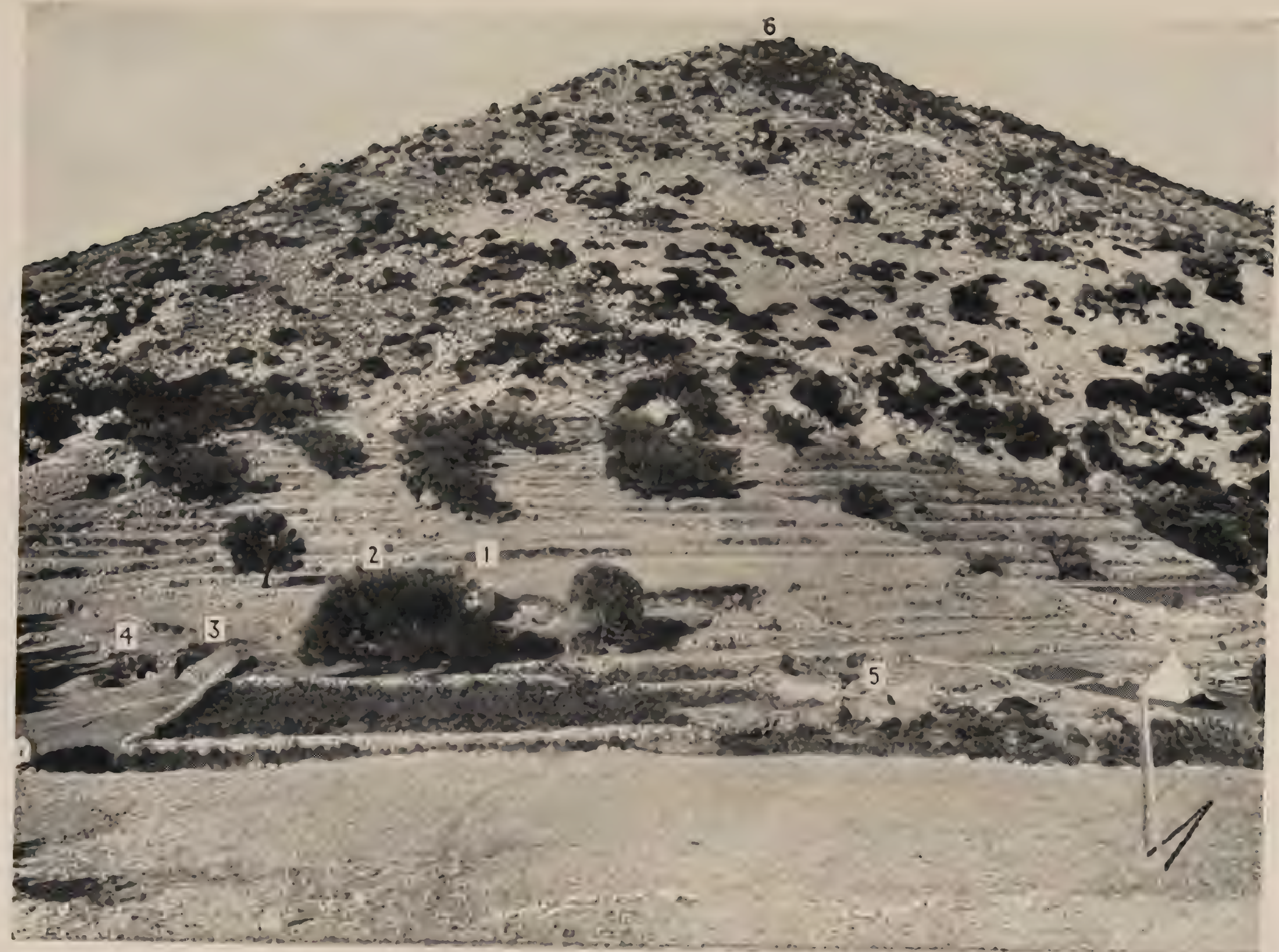

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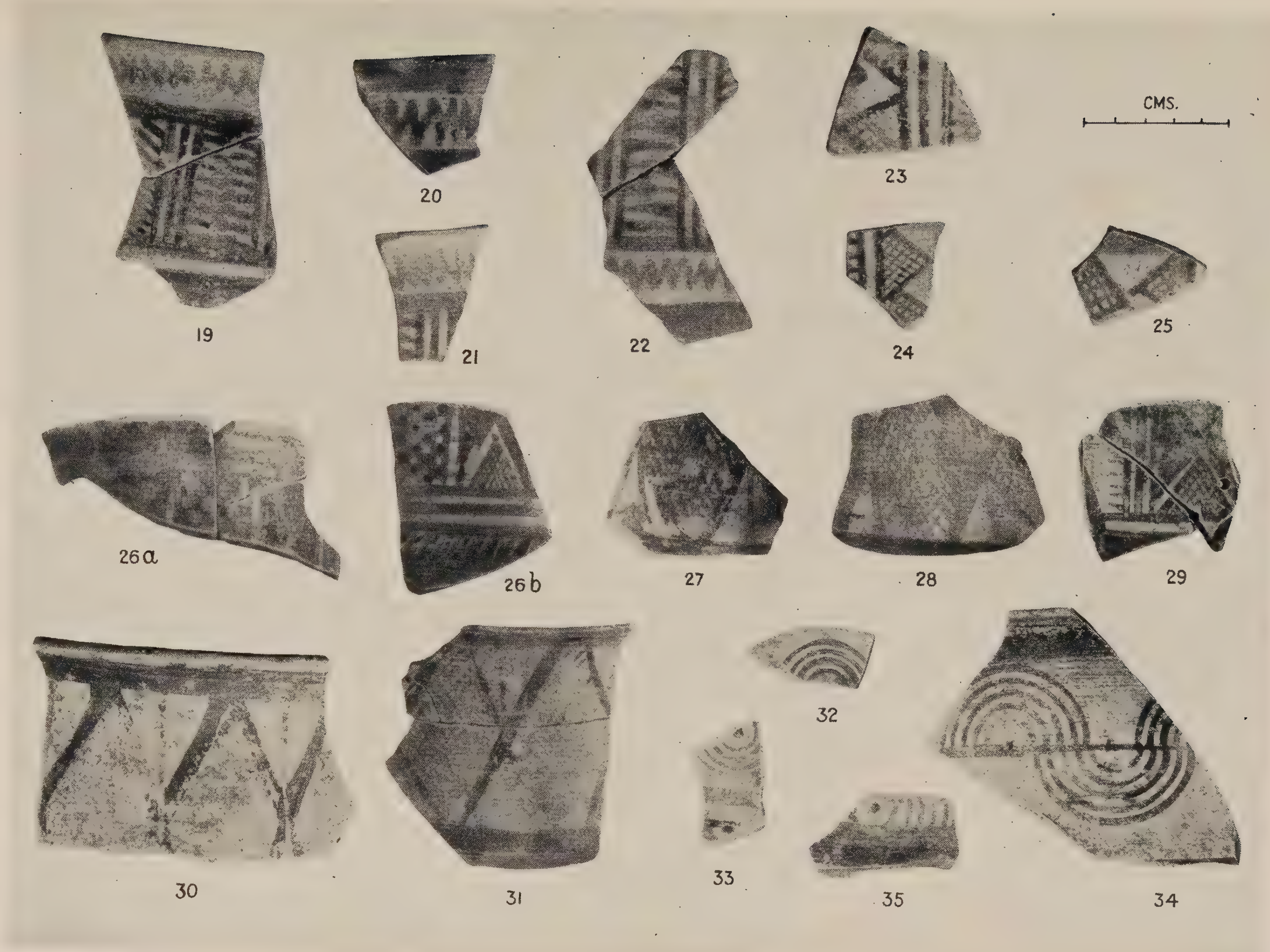
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Excavations in Ithaca, I: Pottery of Classes C and D.

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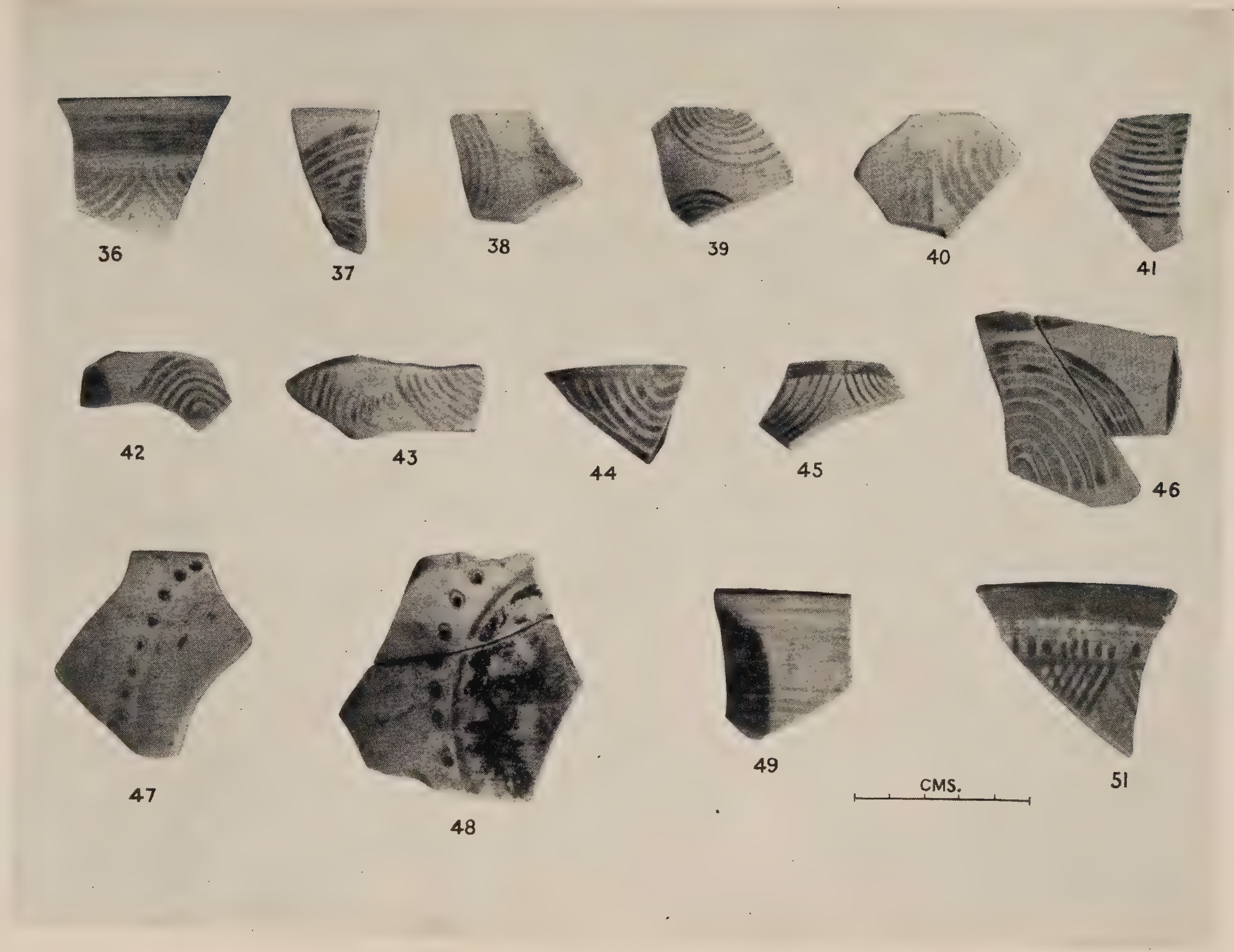
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Excavations in Ithaca, I: Pottery of Classes C and D.

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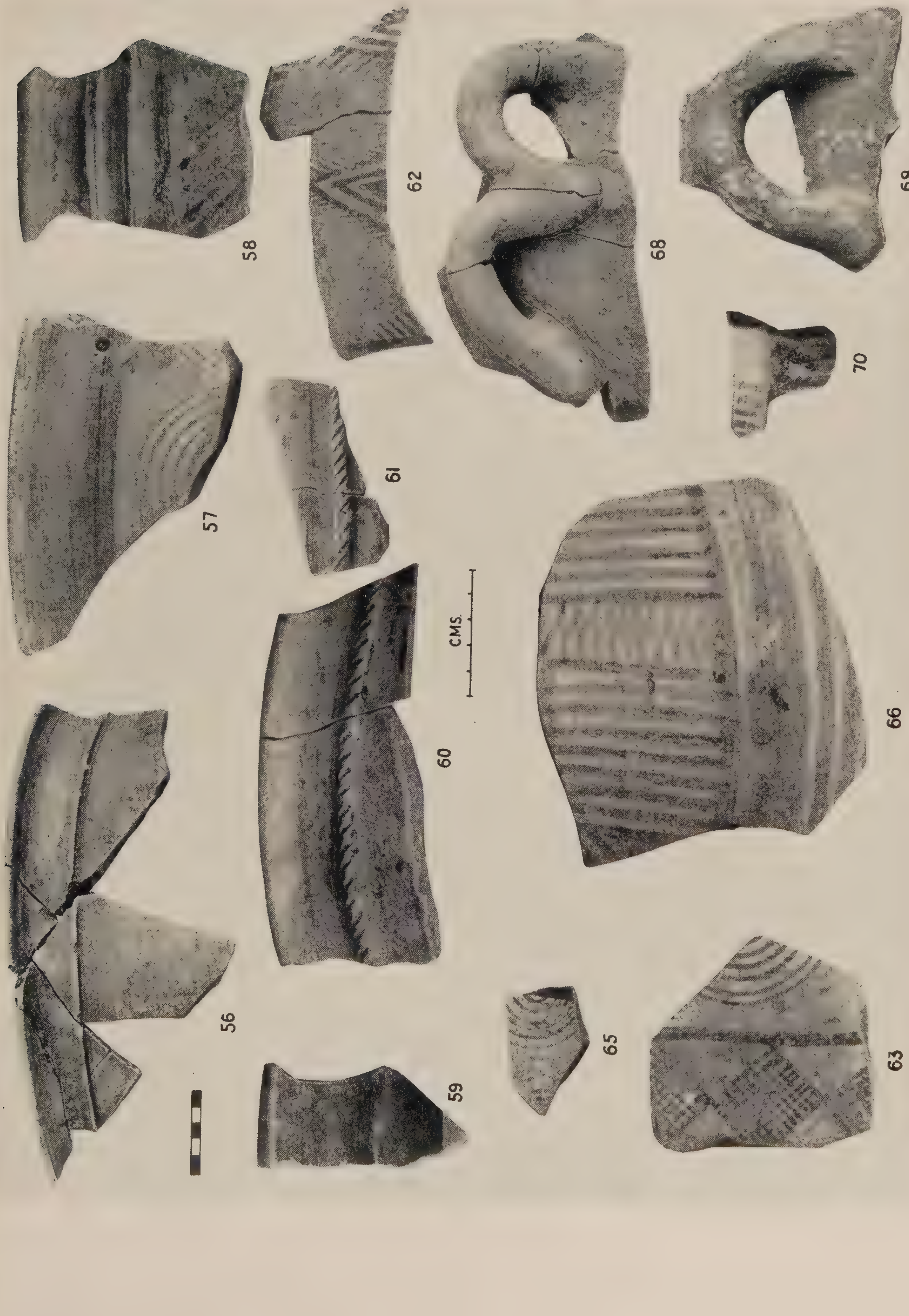
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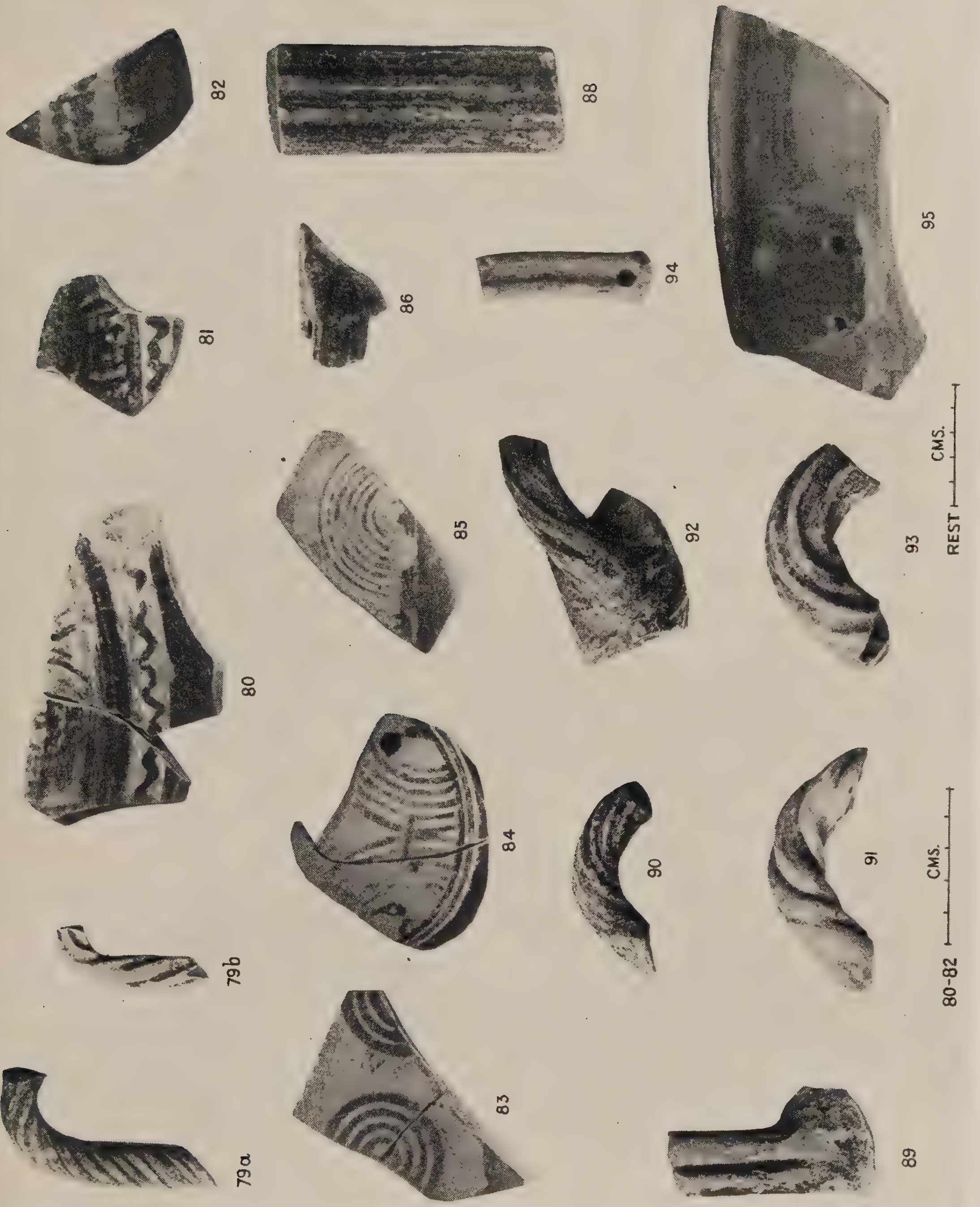
Excavations in Ithaca, I: Pottery of Class F.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Excavations in Ithaca, I: Pottery of Classes I, J, K.

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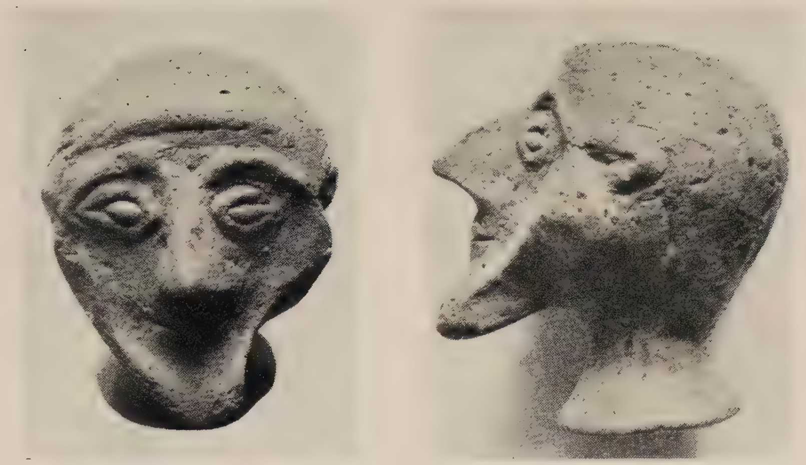
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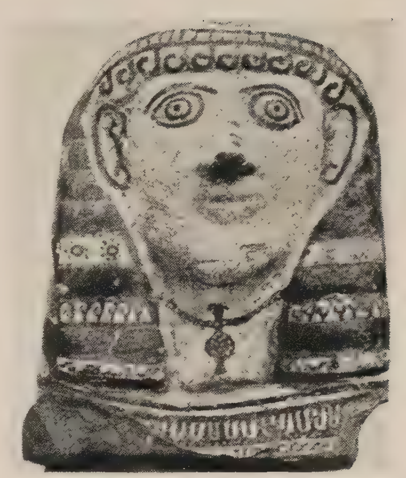
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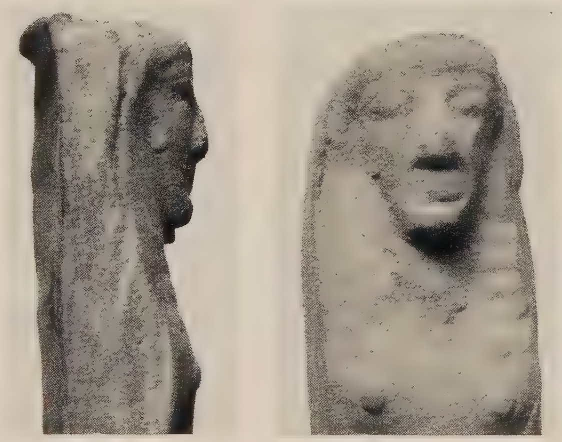
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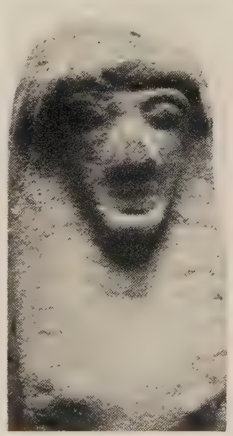
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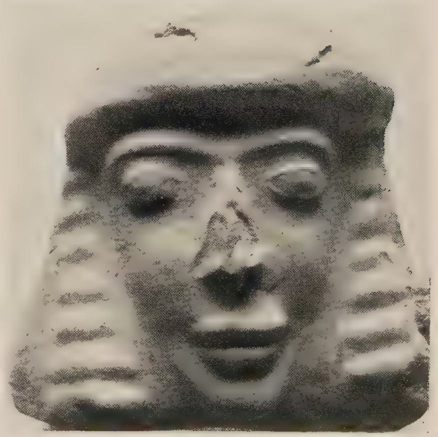
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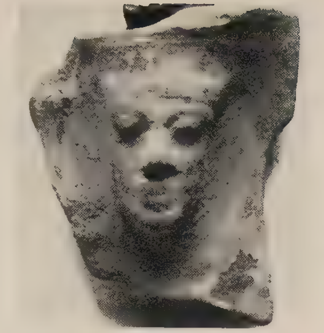
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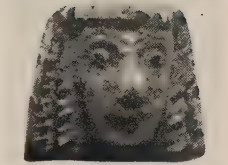
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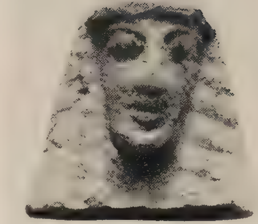
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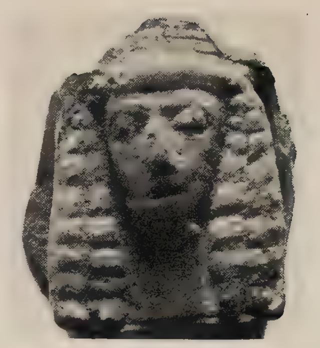
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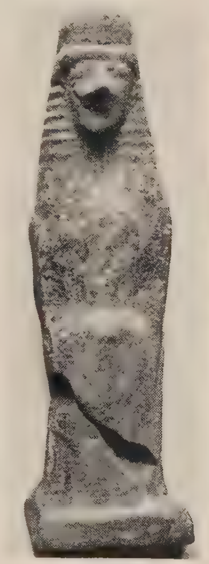
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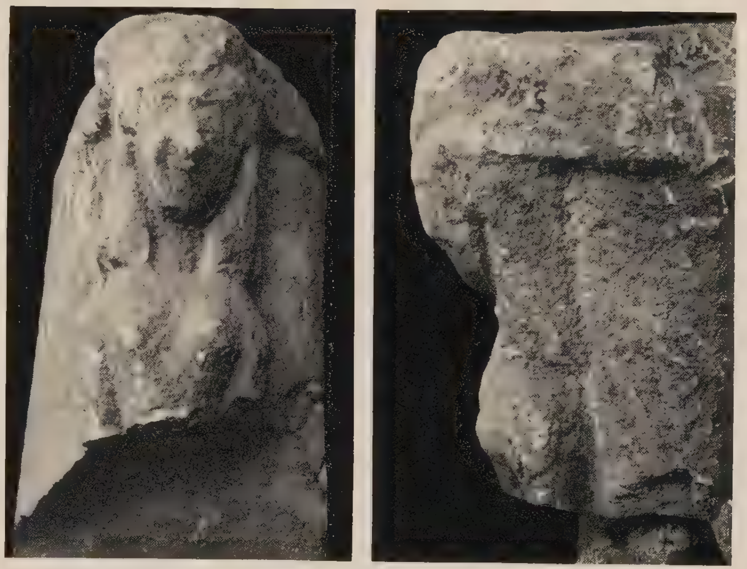
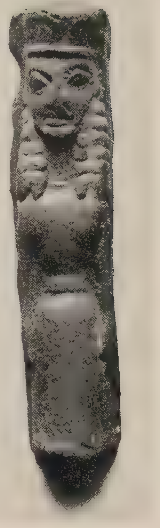
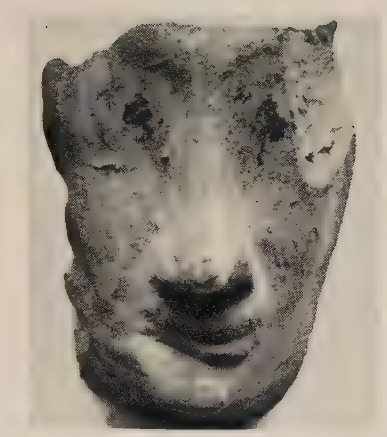
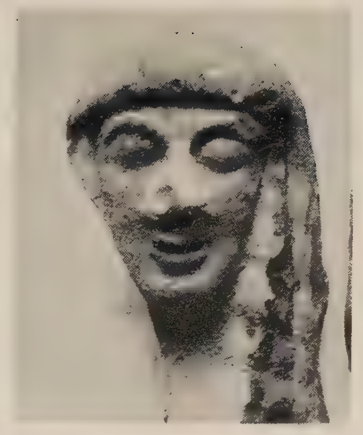

6 (Mistra).

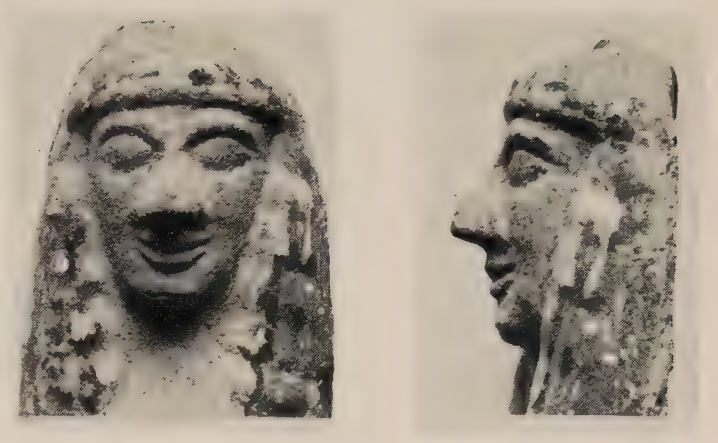

7 (Orthia).

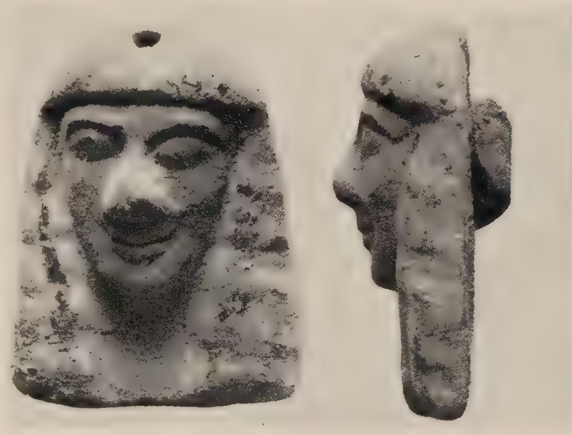
Laconian Figurines at Sparta and Statuette at Mistra: Early Dedalic. (Scale, exc. 6, 3: 4.)

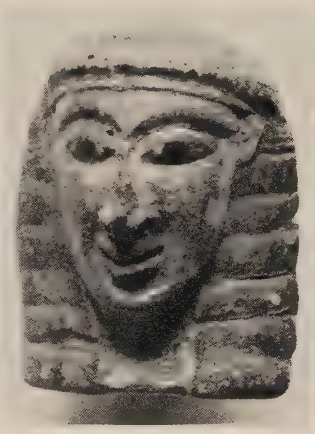
PLATE 9.

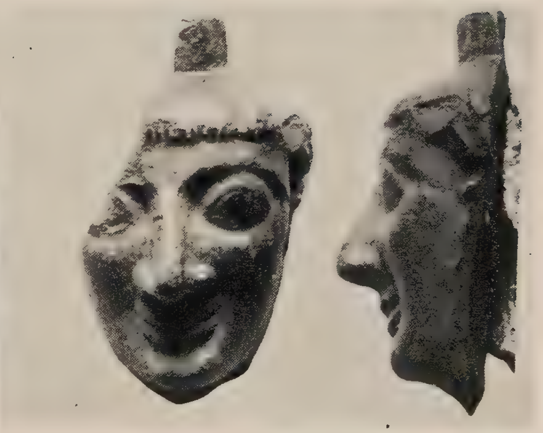

1 (Orthia).


2 (Orthia).


3 (Orthia).

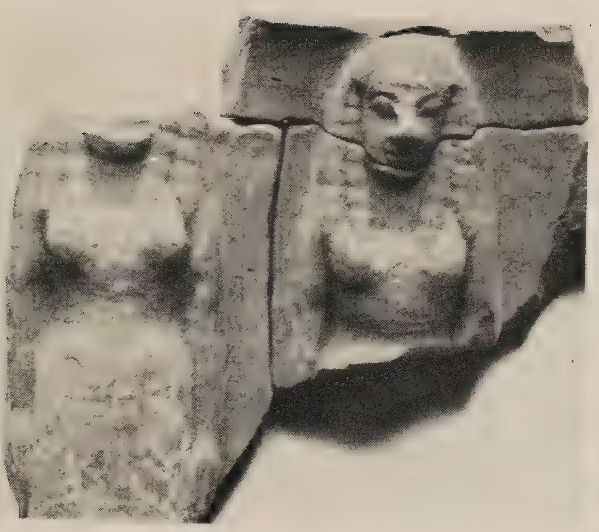

4 (Menelaion).


5 (Acropolis).

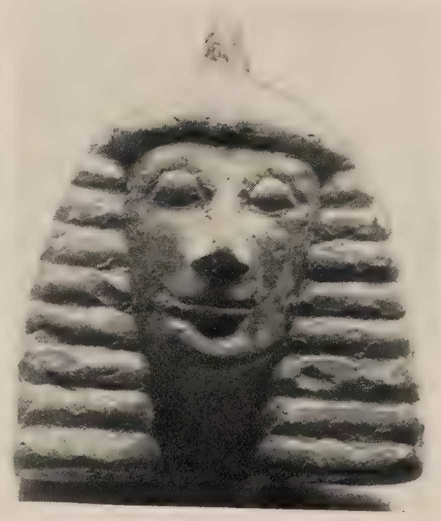

6 (Acropolis).

Laconian Figurines at Sparta: Middle Dedalic, First Phase. (Scale 1 : 1.)

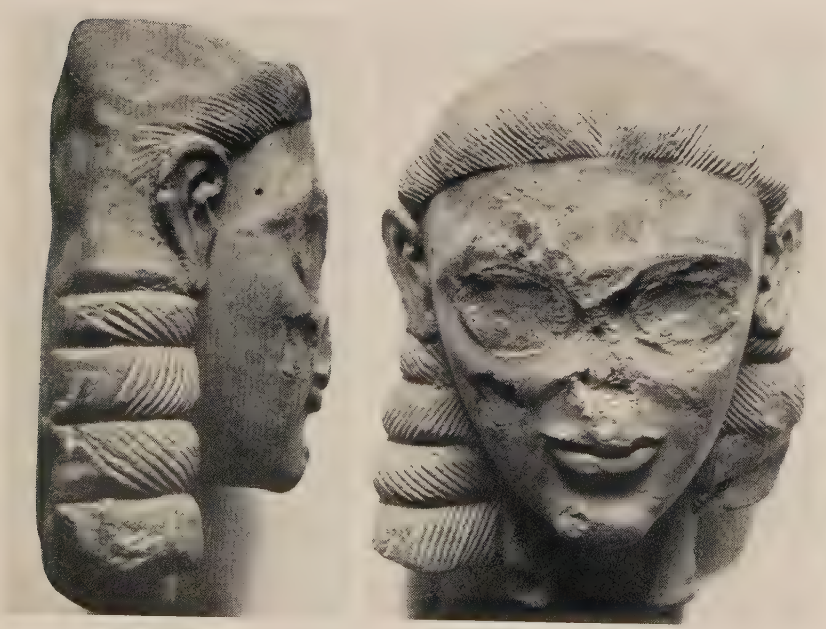
PLATE II.



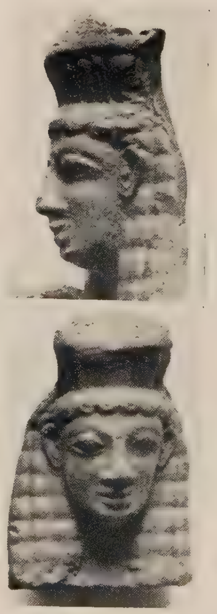
1 (Menelaion).



2 (Orthia).

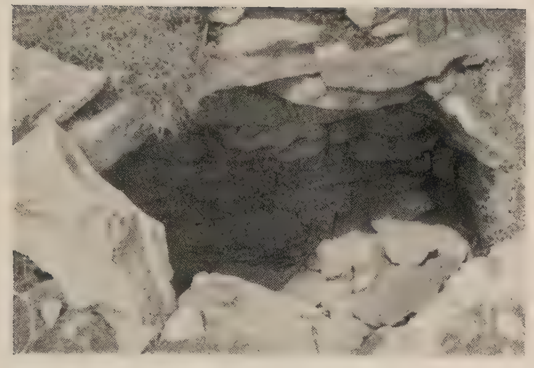


4 (Orthia).

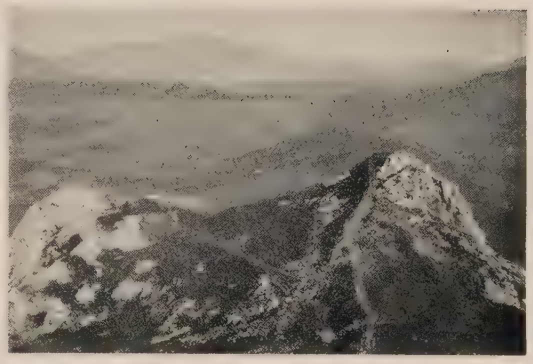


3 (Acropolis).

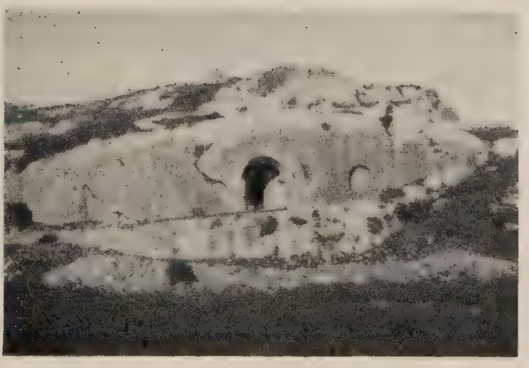
Laconian Terracottas.
1–2, Late Dedalic; 3–4 Post-Dedalic.
(Scale 1 : 1·5.)



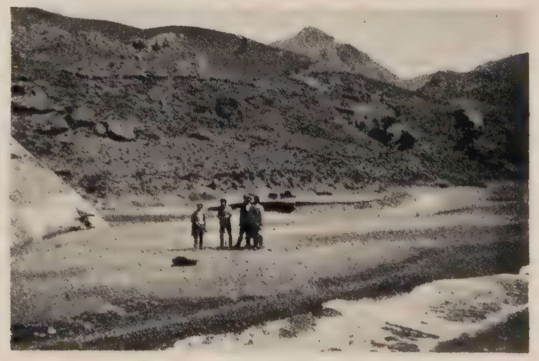
a. Kalergi: M.M. III Built Tomb.



b. Kasteriotes near Melidochori: Walls of Arcadia.

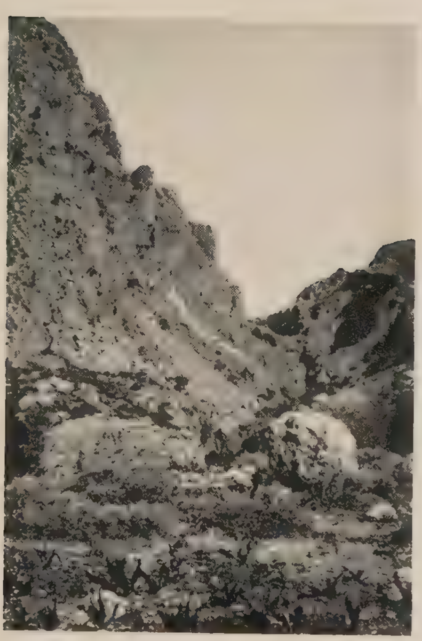


c. Velouli: Rock-cut Tomb.

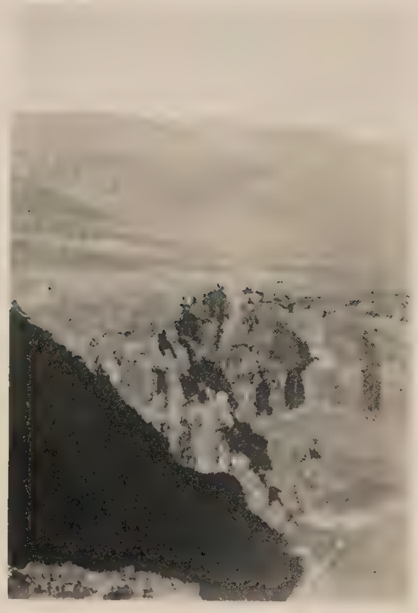


d. Trypeti: the Geometric settlement is immediately behind the group.

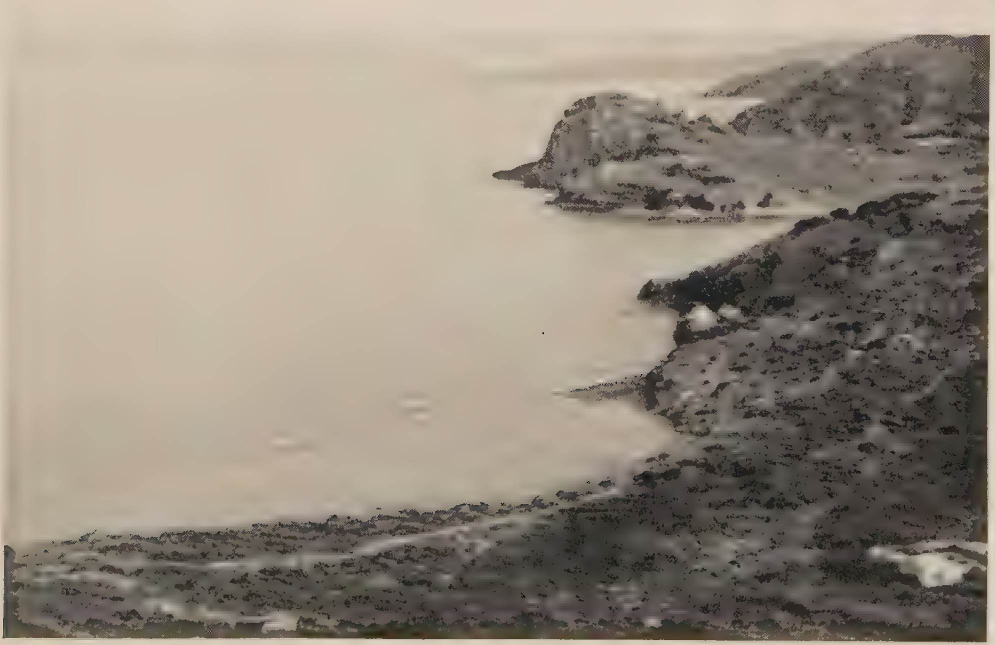
JOURNEYS IN CRETE, 1934.



a. Goulopharango Gorge: Site at Hagios Savas.

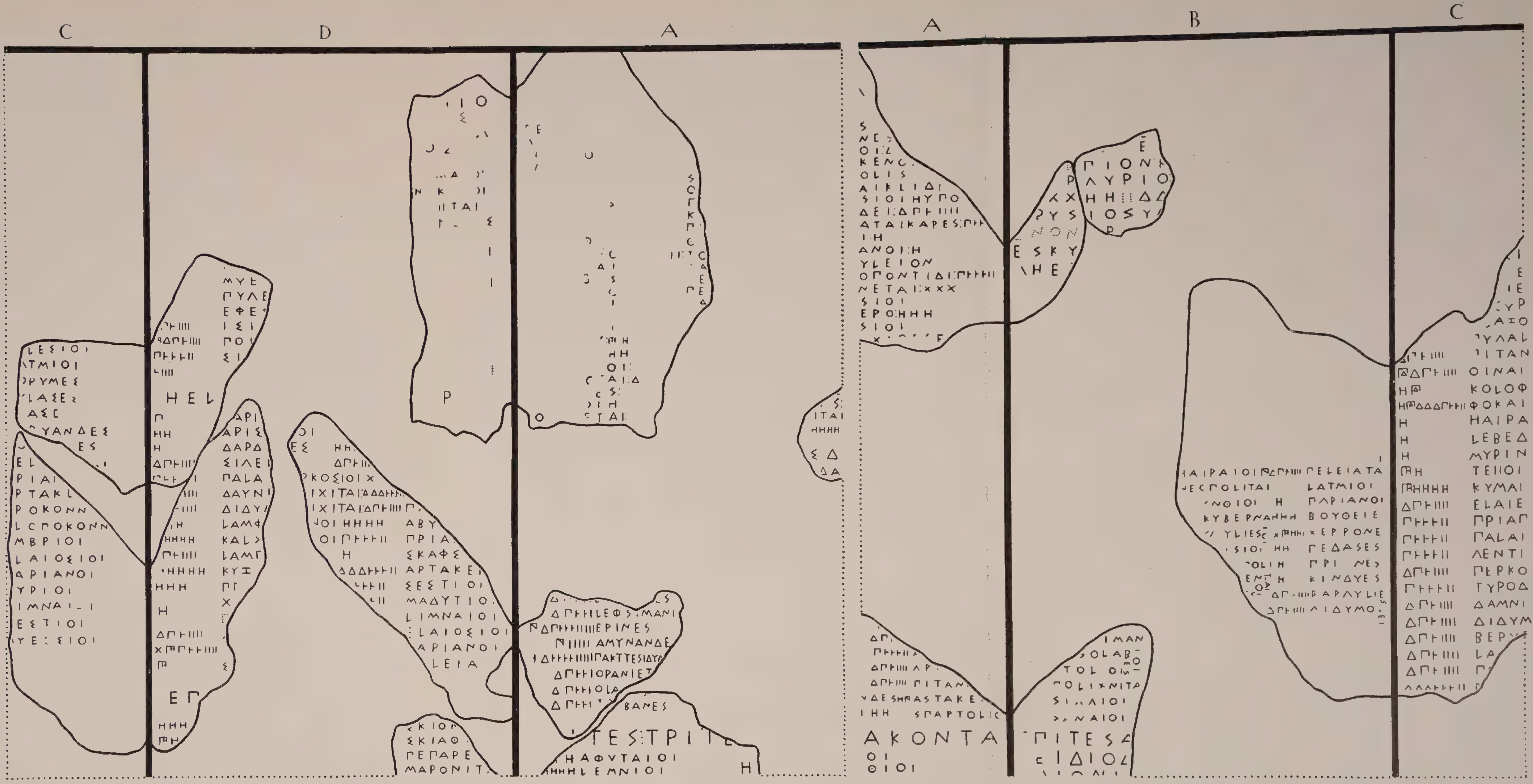


b. Zakros Gorge: surroundings of Hellenika.

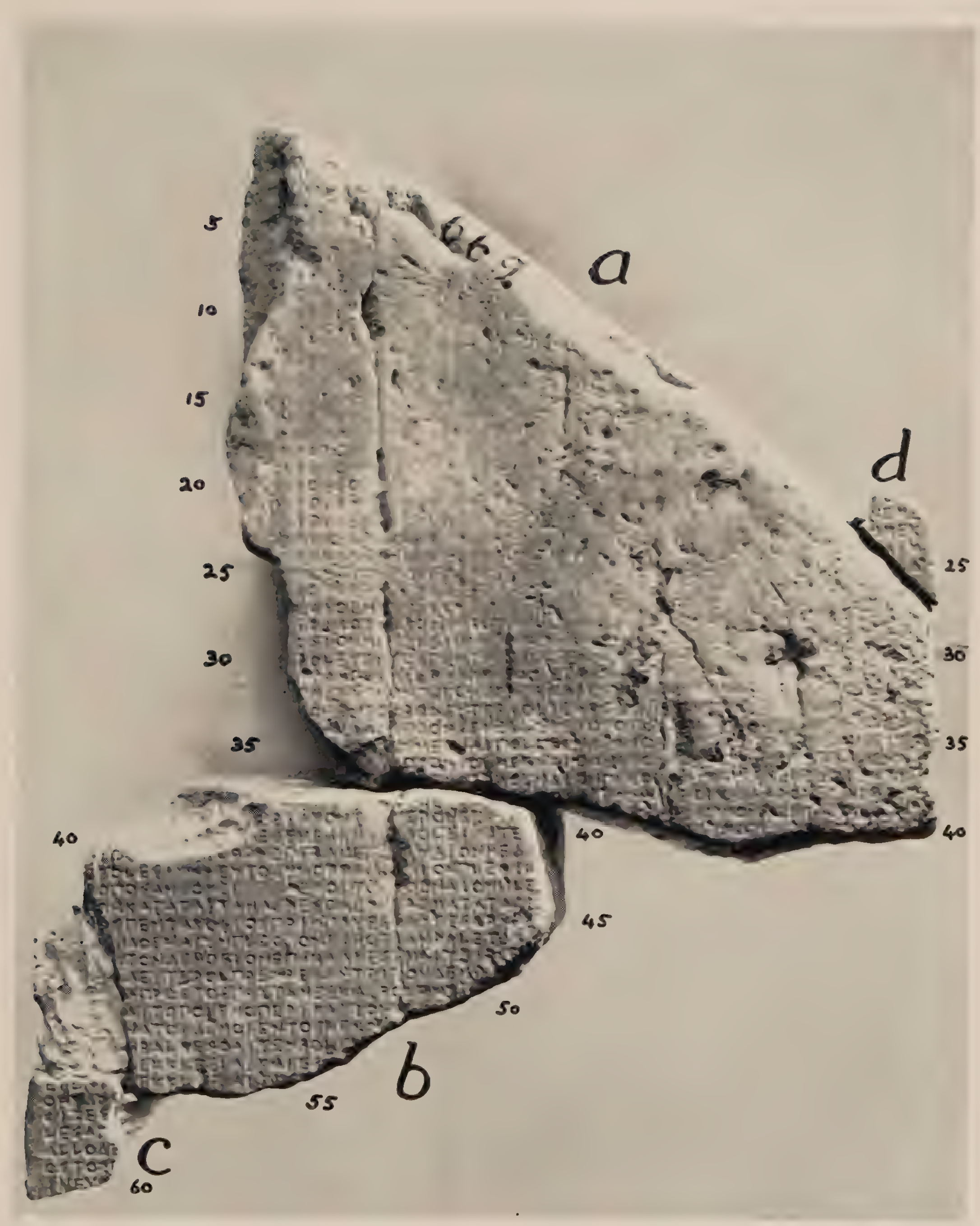


c. Eremopolis: Site of Itanos from the North.

JOURNEYS IN CRETE, 1934.



Attic Inscriptions of the Fifth Century: Facsimile Drawing of Portion of the Upper Part of the *Lapis Primus* (Attic Quota Lists). See p. 102, Fig. 1.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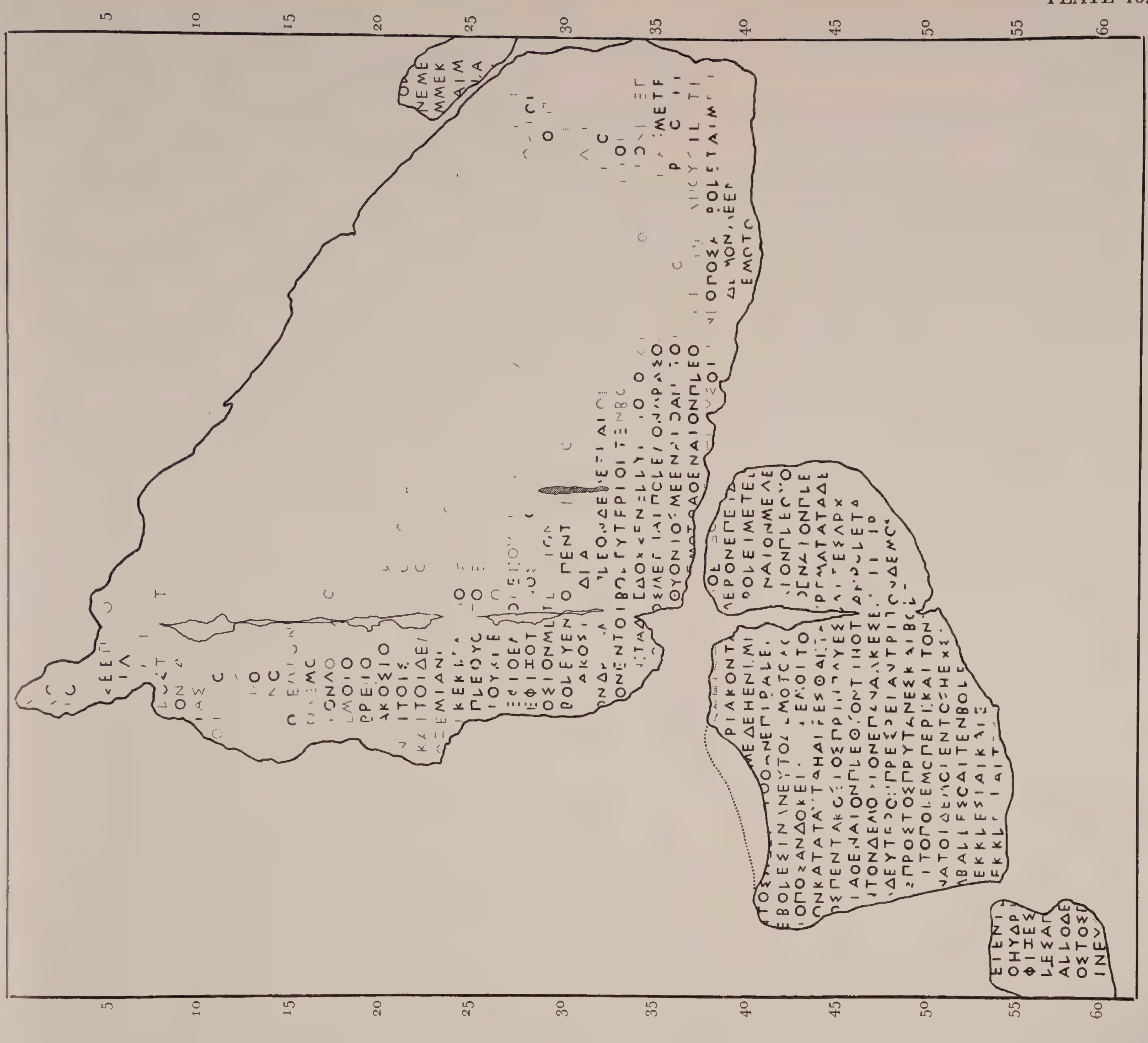
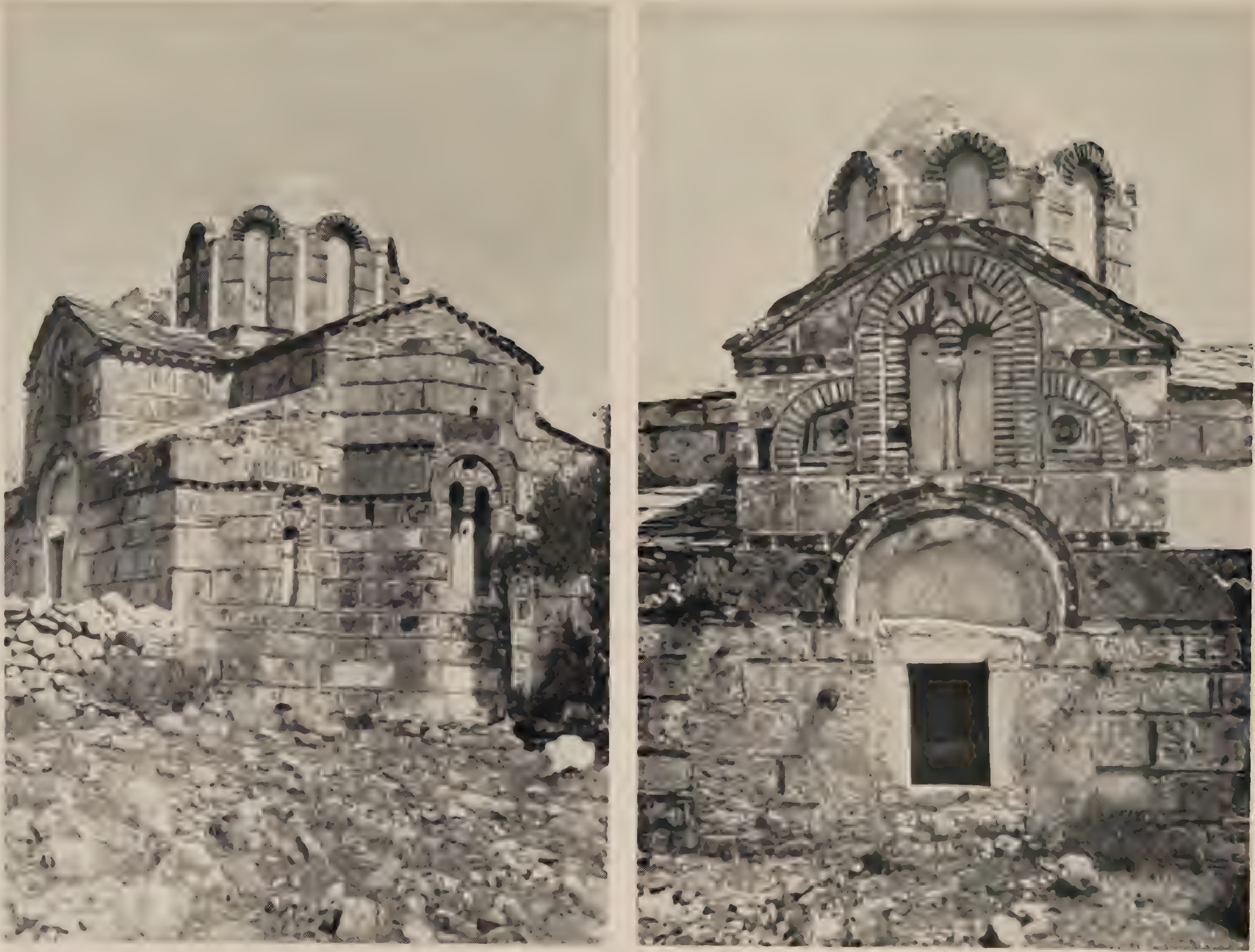
ATTIC INSCRIPTIONS OF THE FIFTH CENTURY: *I.G.* I² 114 WITH NEW FRAGMENTS.

PLATE 16.



Attic Inscriptions of the Fifth Century: Facsimile Drawing of *I.G.* I² 114 with new Fragments.

PLATE 17.

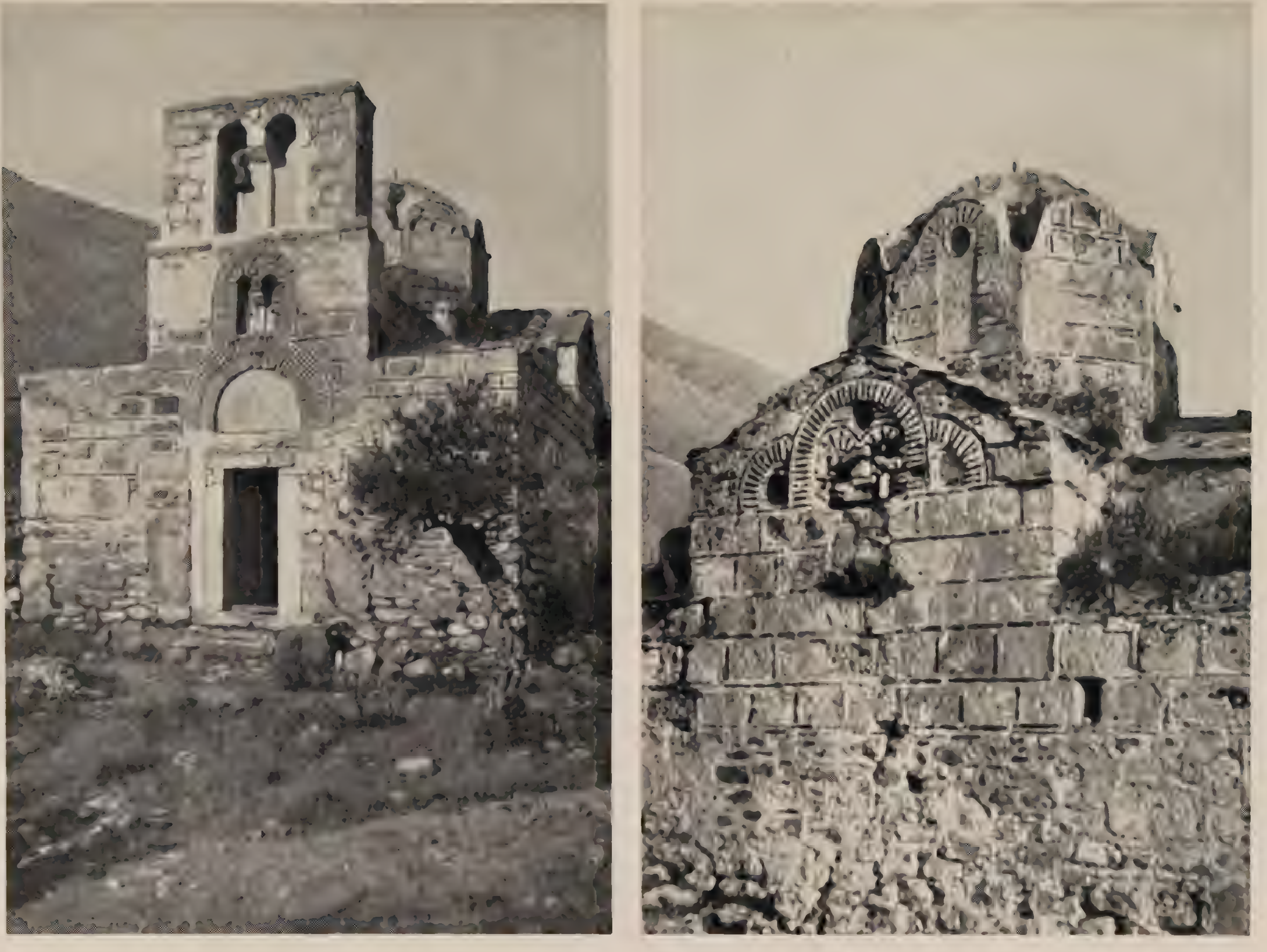


a. Eremos, H. Varvara : from South-East.

b. Eremos, H. Varvara : South Gable.

BYZANTINE ARCHITECTURE IN MANI.

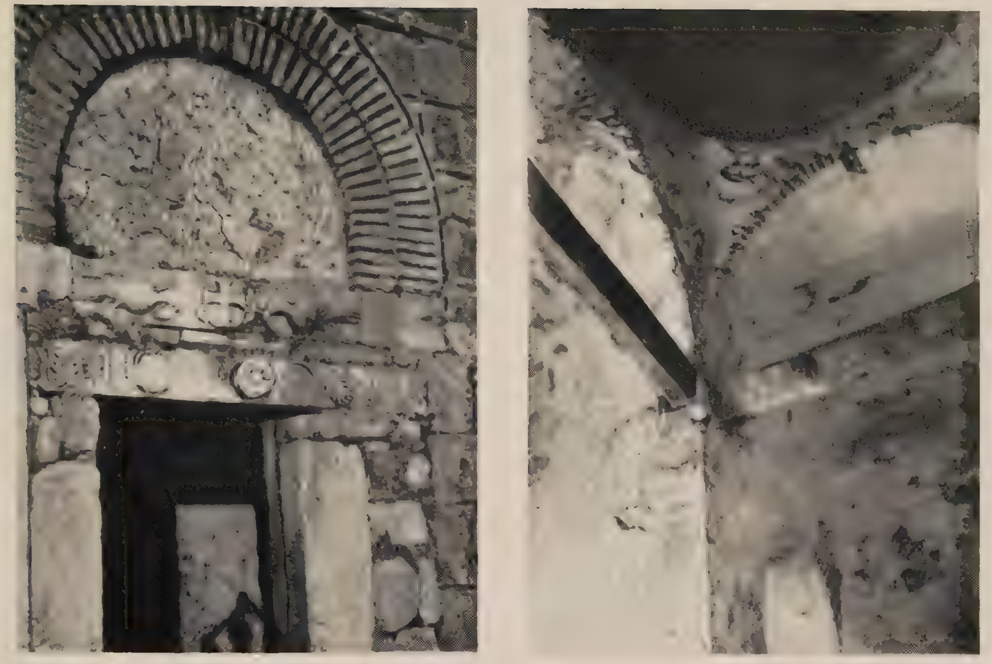
PLATE 18.



a. Vamvaka, H. Theodoros: from West. *b*. Vamvaka. H Theodoros: North Gable.

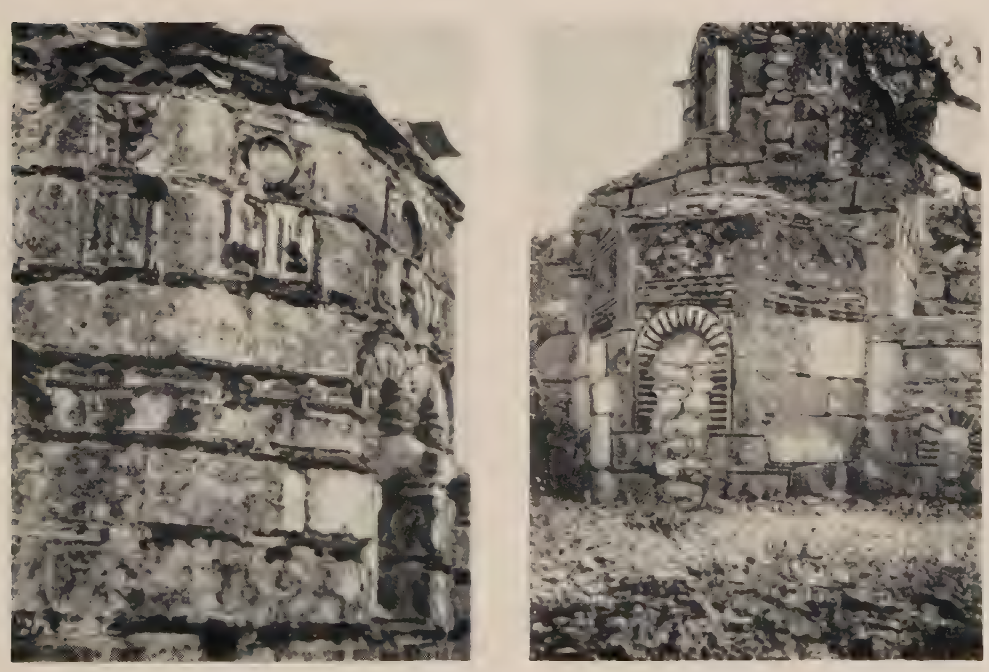
BYZANTINE ARCHITECTURE IN MANI.

PLATE 19.



a. Vamvaka, H. Theodoros: West Door.

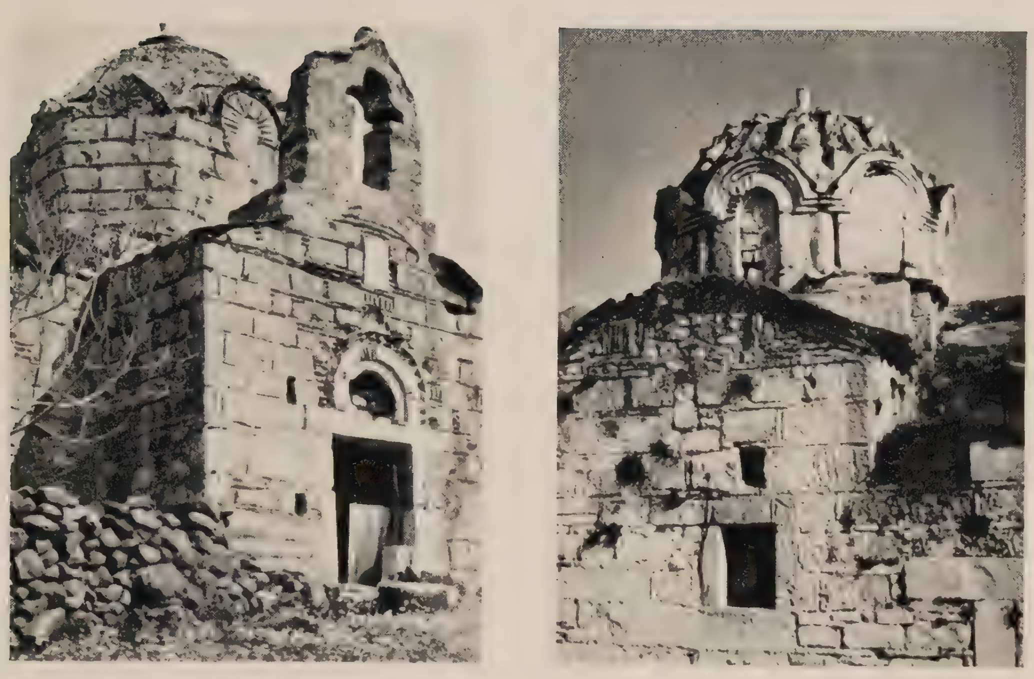
b. Vamvaka, H. Theodoros: North-West Pendentive.



c. Gardenitsa, H. Soter: Centre Apse.

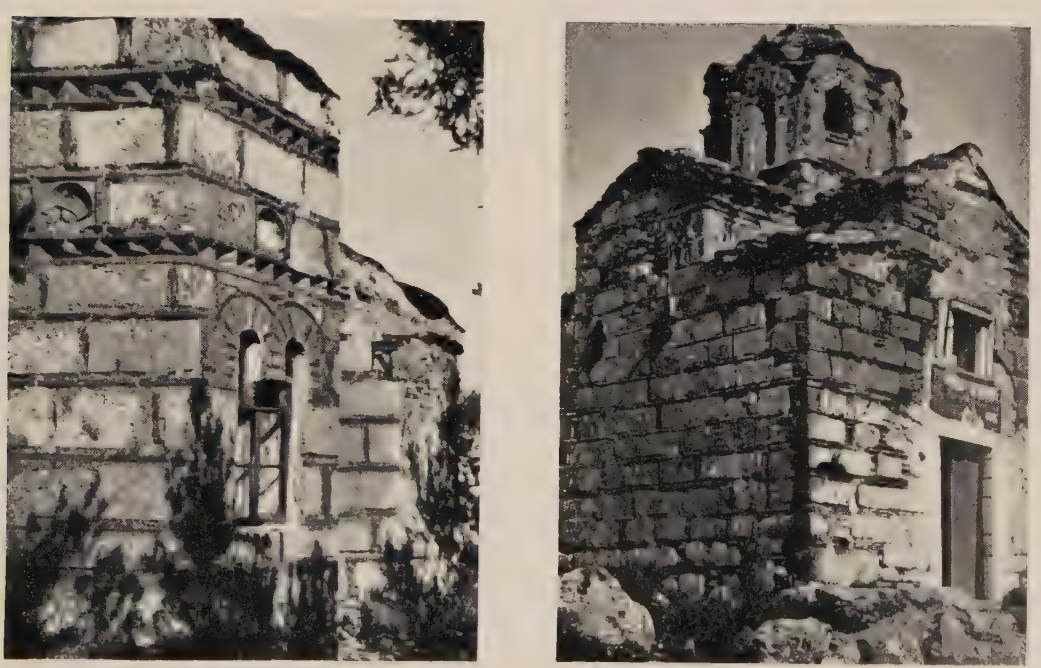
d. Near Kytta, H. Georgios: East End.

BYZANTINE ARCHITECTURE IN MANI.



a. Near Pyrgos, H. Petros: from North-West.

b. Gardenitsa, H. Soter: from North.

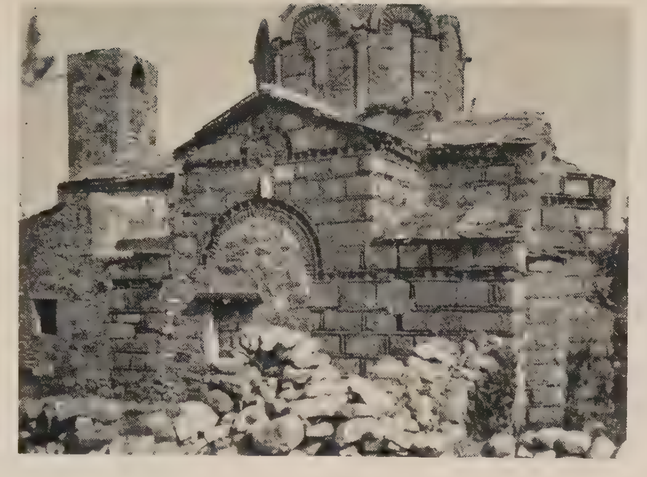


c. Glezou, H. Taxiarchai: Centre Apse.

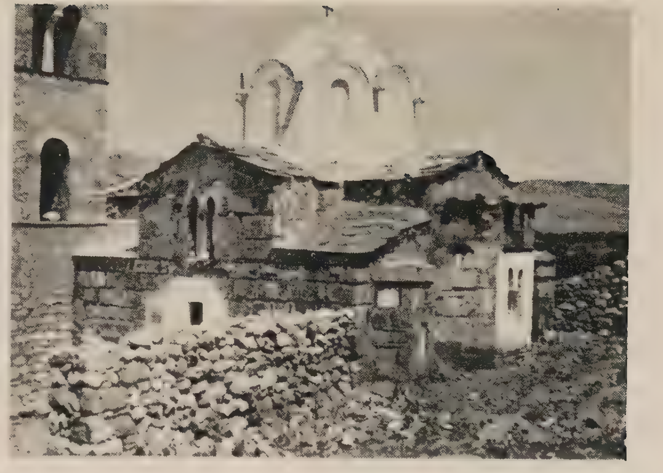
d. Koutéphare, Metamorphosis: from South-West.

BYZANTINE ARCHITECTURE IN MANI.

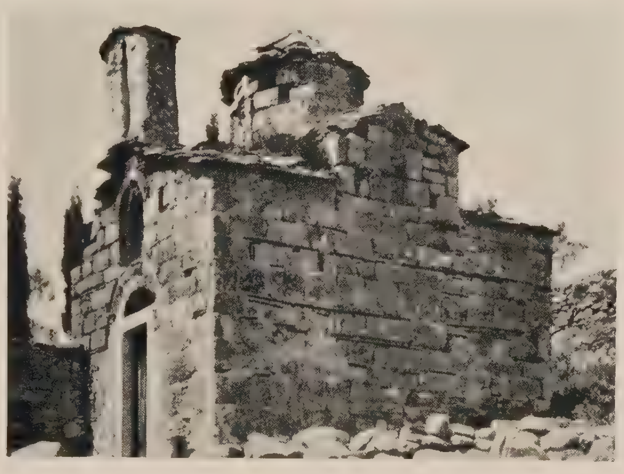
PLATE 21.



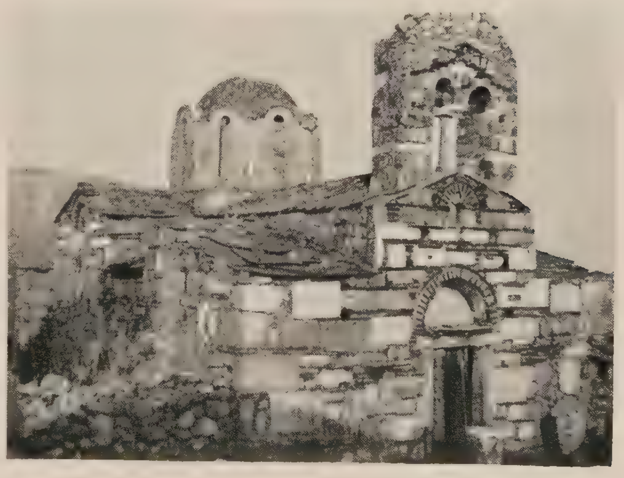
a. Glezou, Taxiarchai—H. Marina: from South.



b. Ochiá, H. Nikolaos: from South-East.



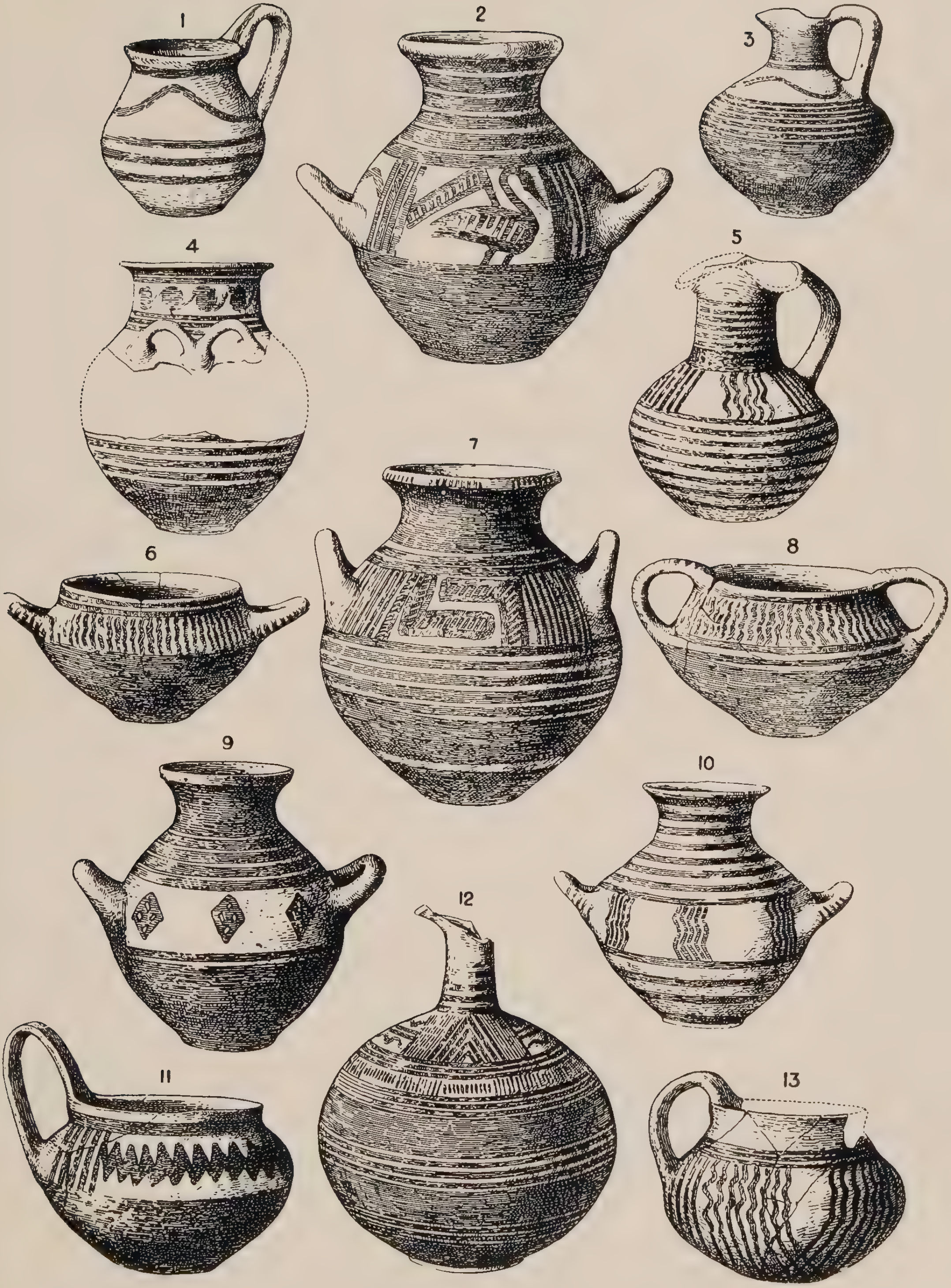
c. Abysola, H. Elias: from South-West.



d. Keria, H. Ioannes: from North-West.

BYZANTINE ARCHITECTURE IN MANI.

PLATE 22.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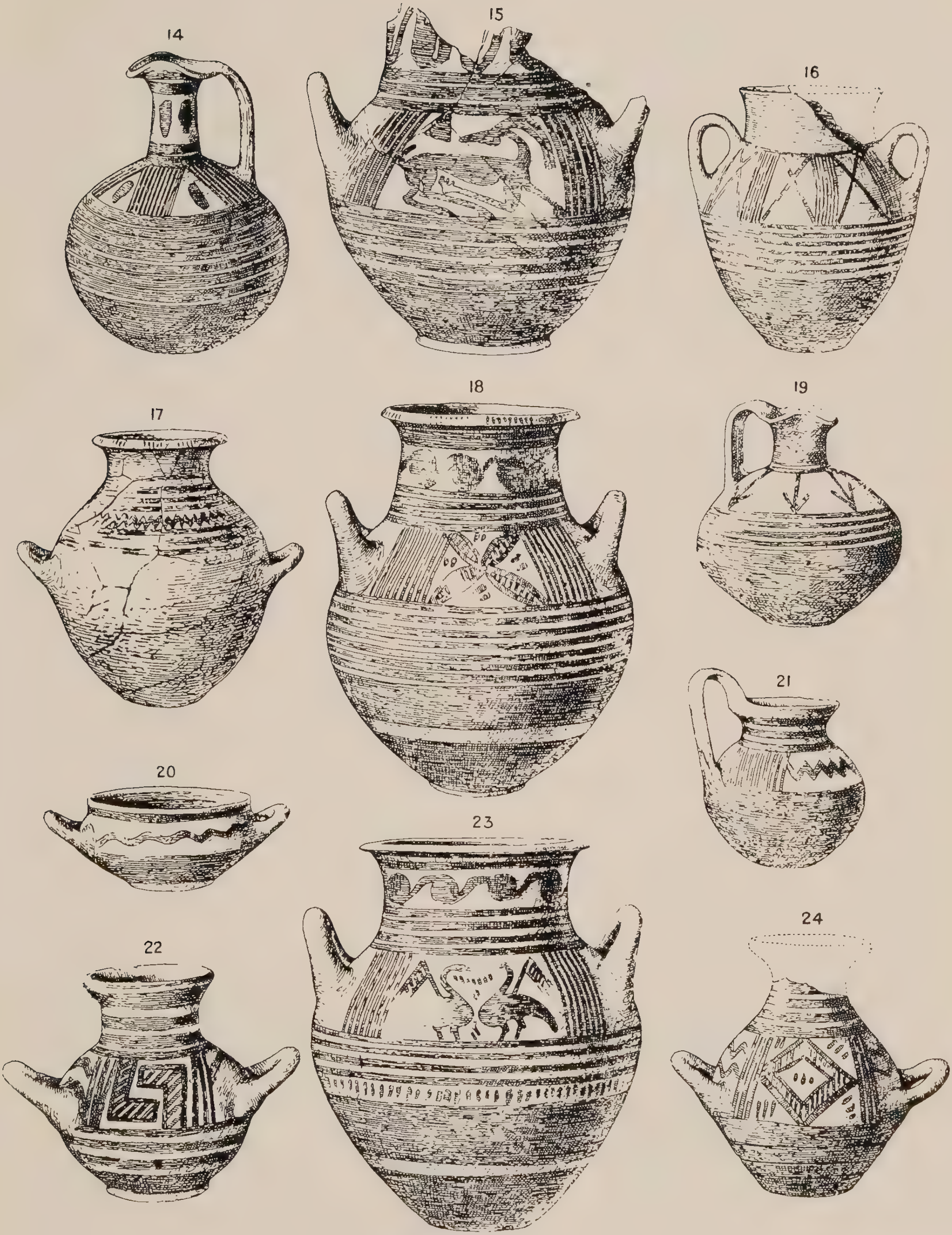
Geometric Vases from Canale.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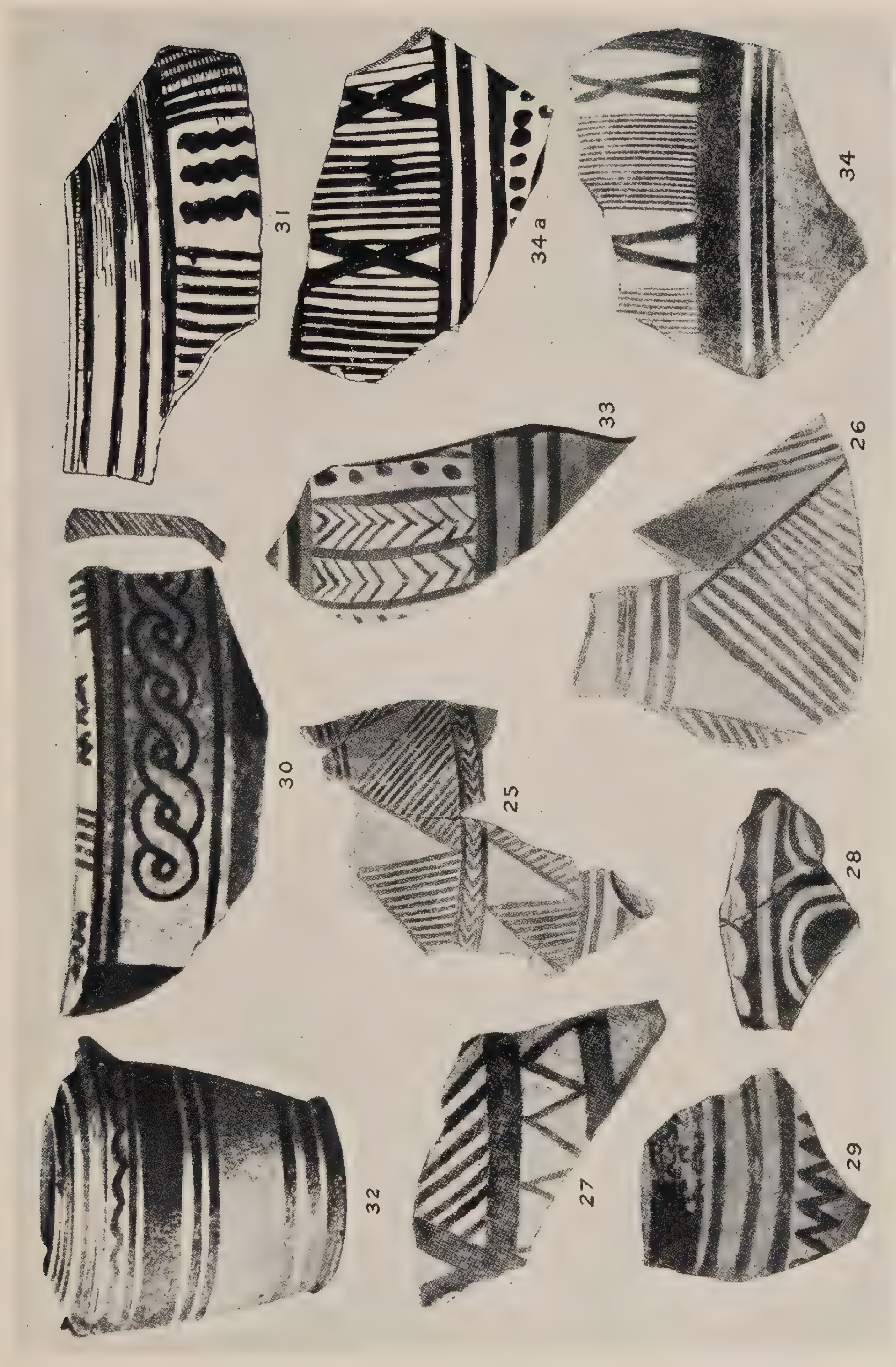
Geometric Vases from Canale.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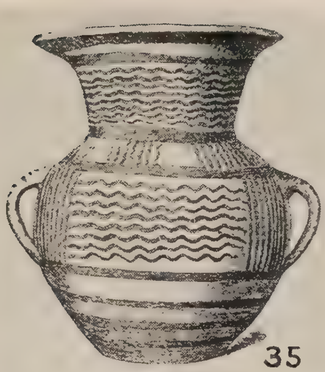
Geometric Pottery from Sicily (exc. 34a): 25–31 Syracuse; 32–34 Bitalemi (Gela); 34a Paros.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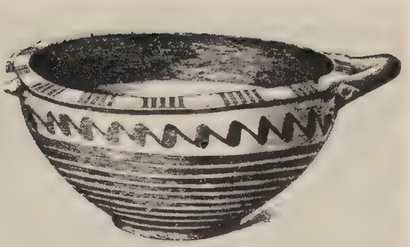
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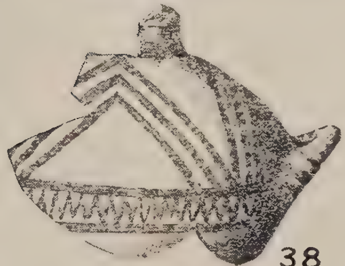
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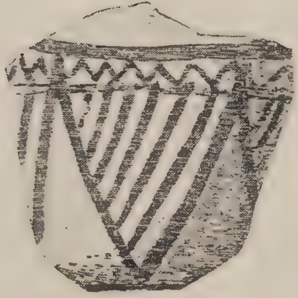
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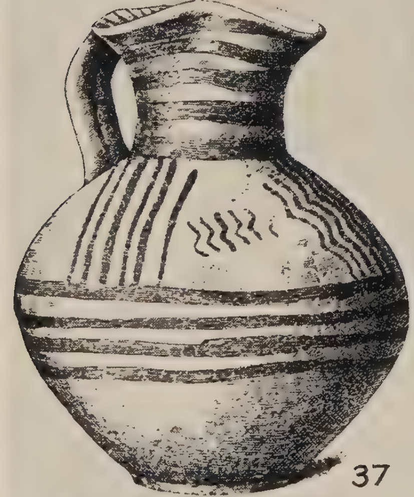
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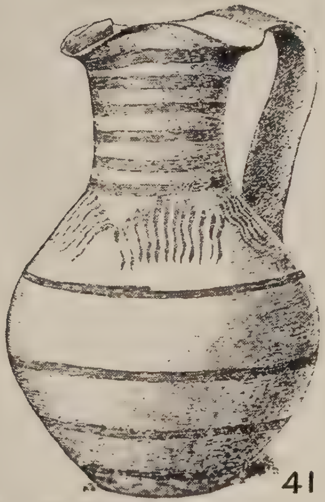
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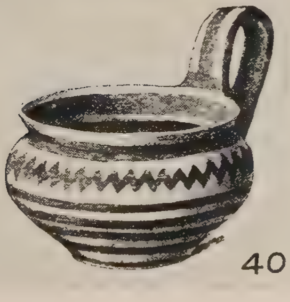
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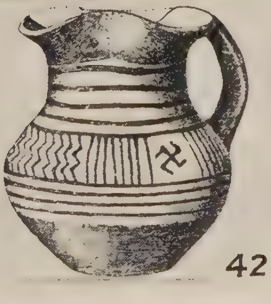
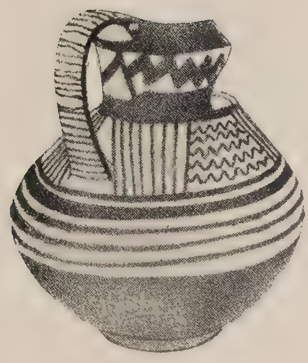
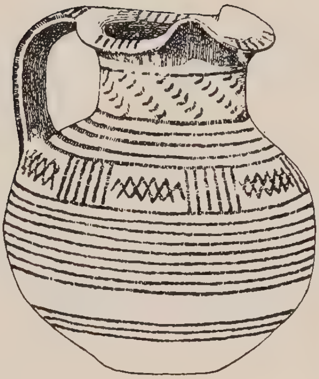

42

Geometric Pottery from Cava di S. Aloe, Lentini.

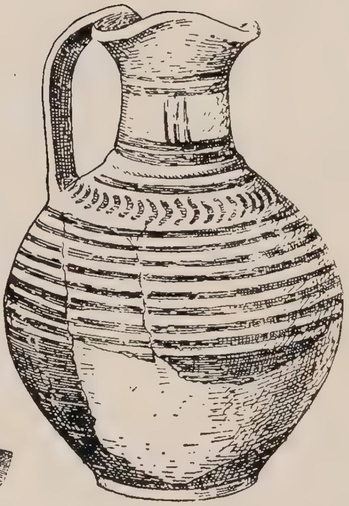
PLATE 26.



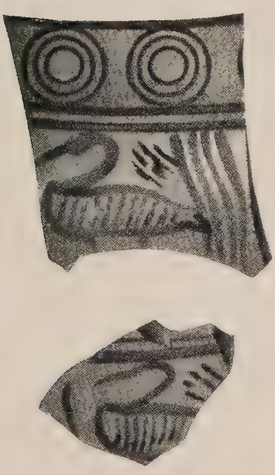
43. Tremenzano.



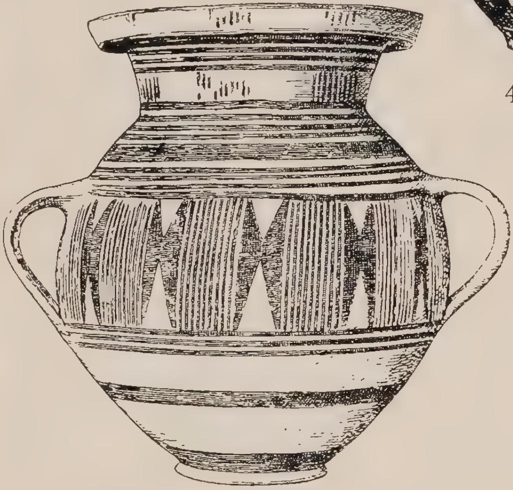
44. Tremenzano.



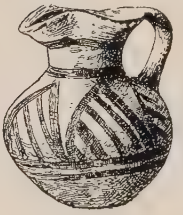
46. Taormina.



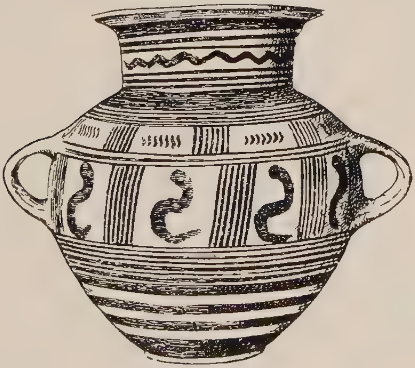
45. Castelluccio.



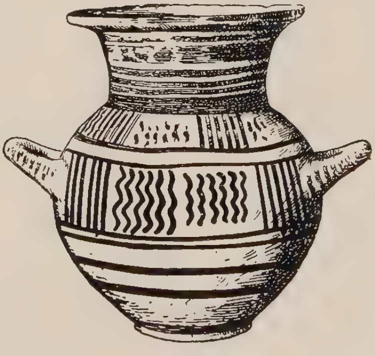
47. Ossini.



50. Ossini.



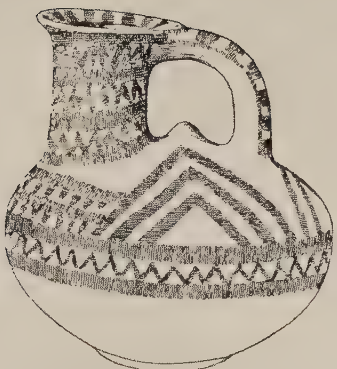
48. Ossini.



49. Ossini.

Geometric Pottery from Sicel Sites.

PLATE 27.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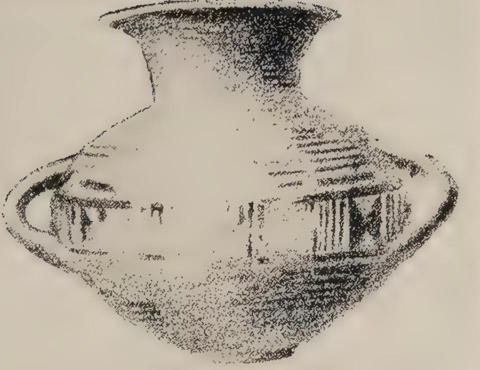
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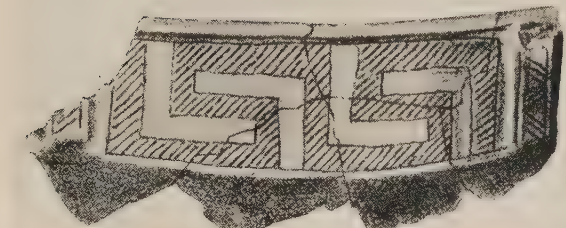
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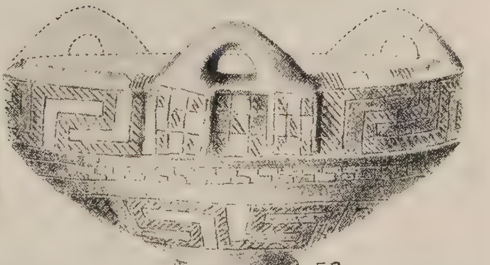
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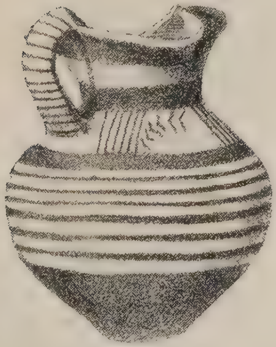
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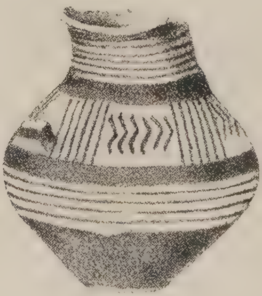
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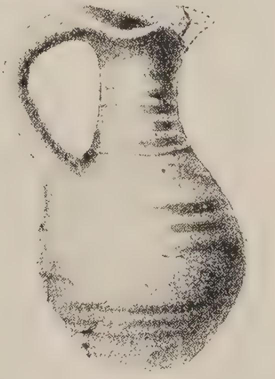
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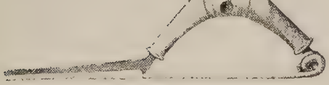
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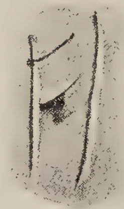
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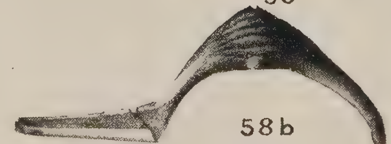
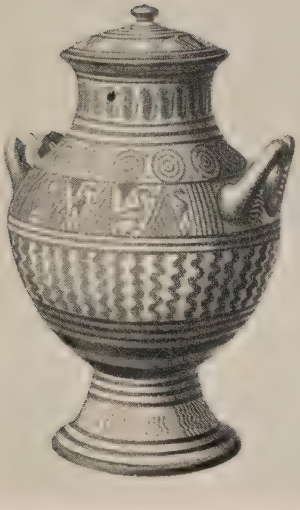
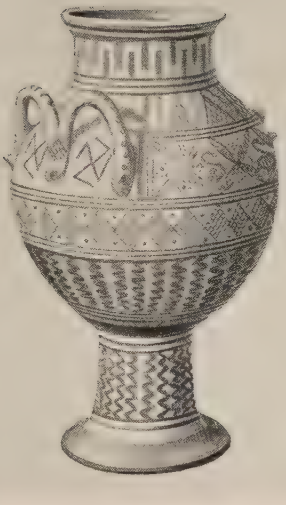

58b

Pottery and Fibulae from Finocchito.

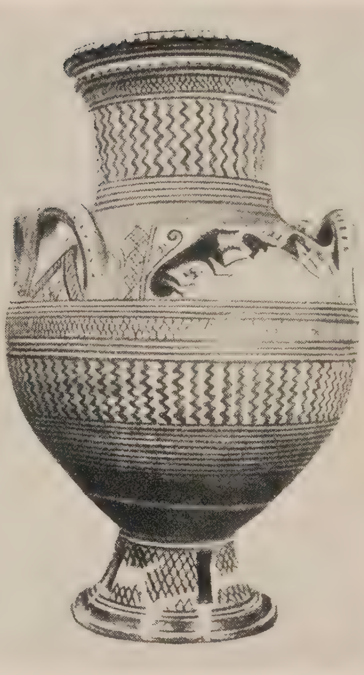
PLATE 28.



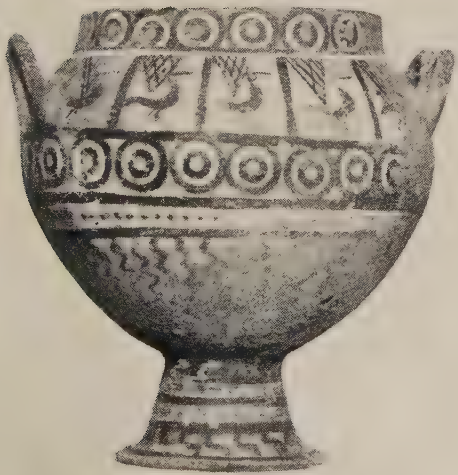
59. Vase from Vulci.



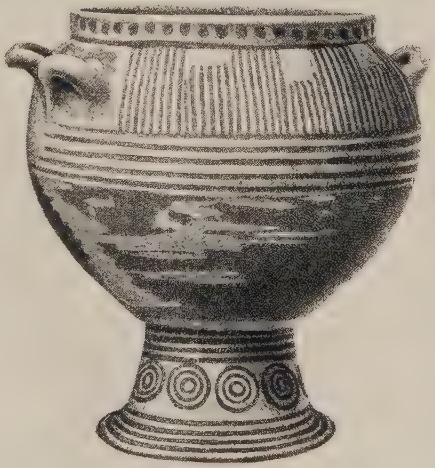
60. Vase from Vulci.



x. Boeotian Geometric Vase in Bonn.



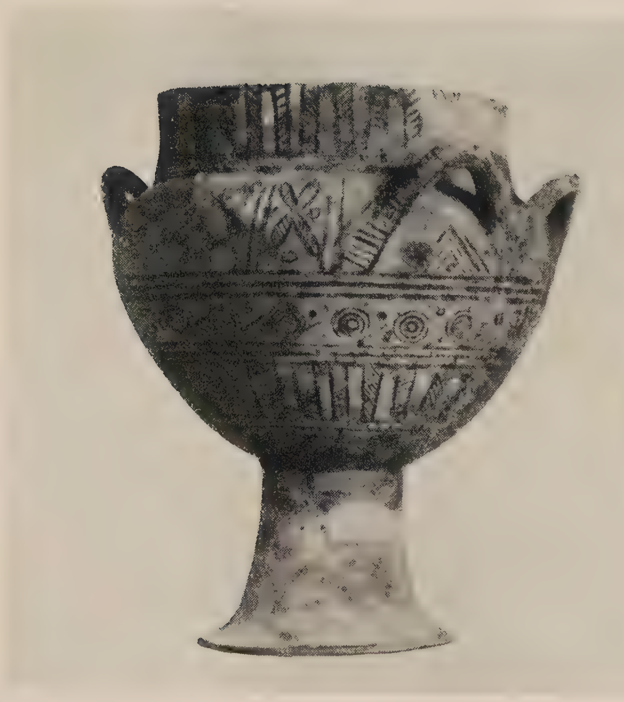
61. Vase from Chiusi.



62. Vase from Bisenzio.

Geometric Pottery from Etruria (exc. *x*).

PLATE 29.



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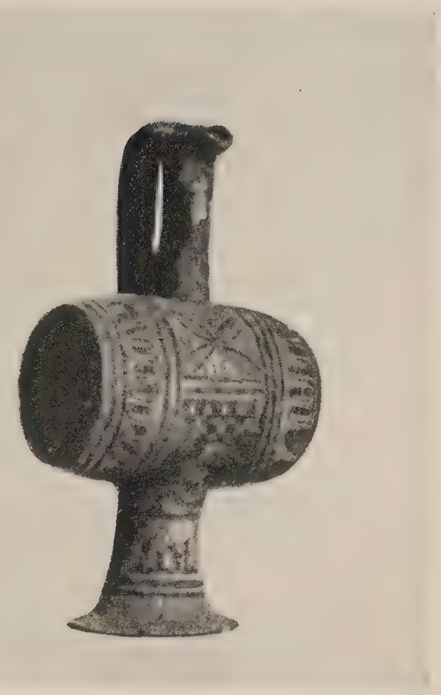

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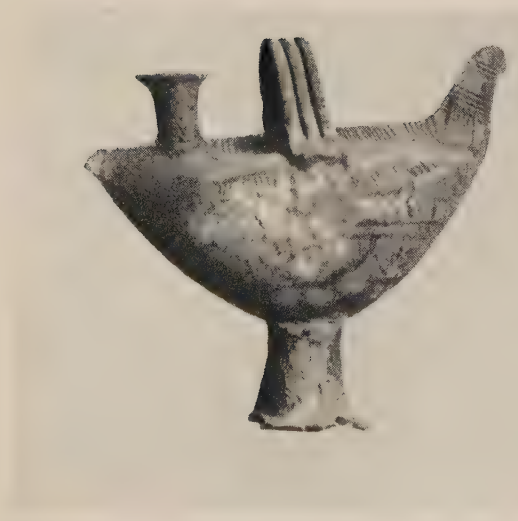

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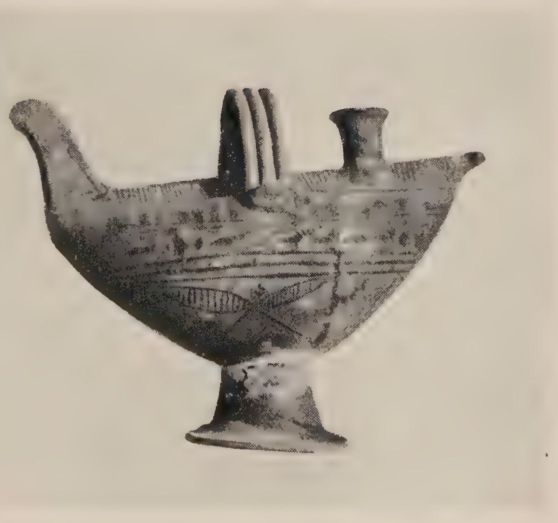
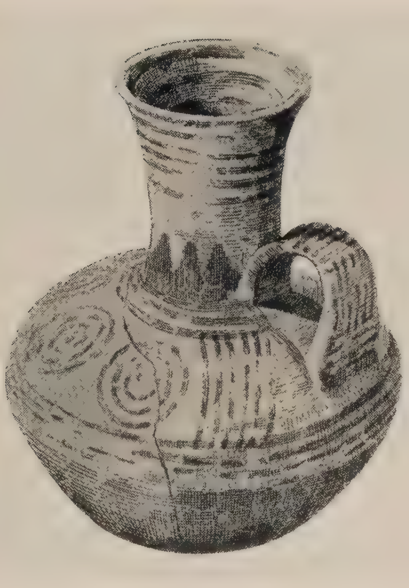
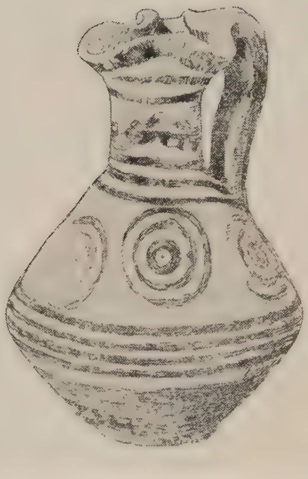


66.

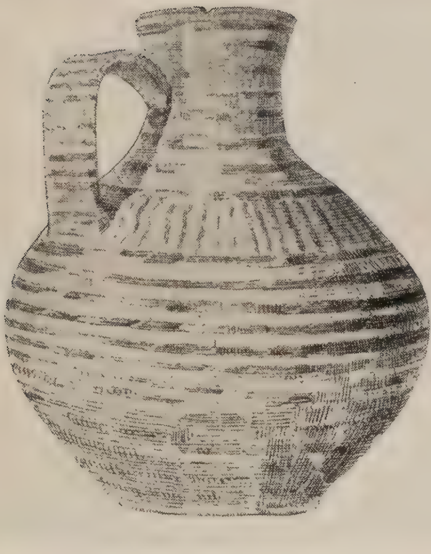
Geometric Vases from Capodimonte.



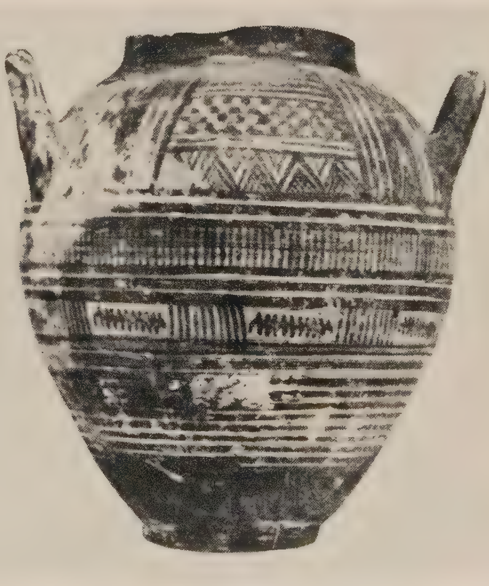
67. Vase from Vetralla.



69. Vase from Terni.



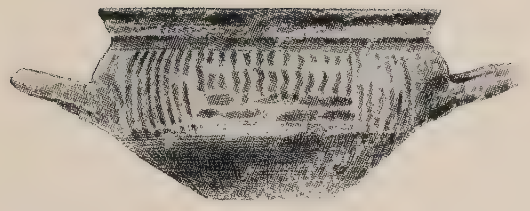
68. Vase from Vetralla.



70. Vase from "Rome."

Geometric Pottery from Italian Sites.

PLATE 31.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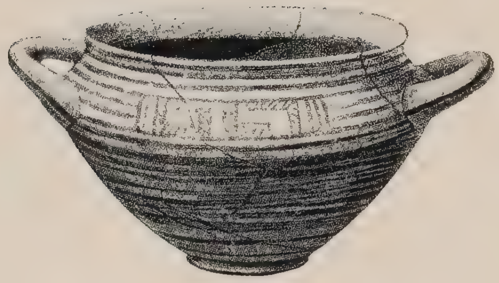
Vetralla.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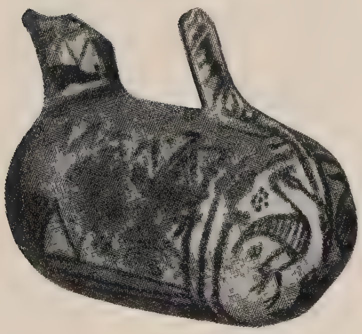
Falerii.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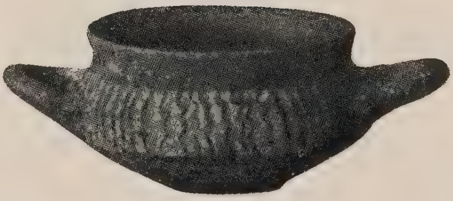
Veii.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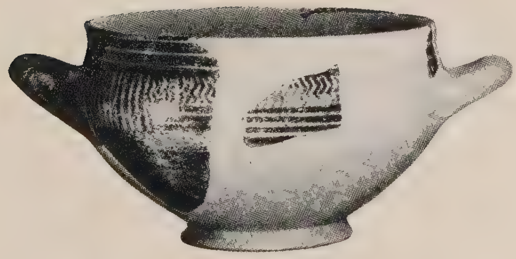
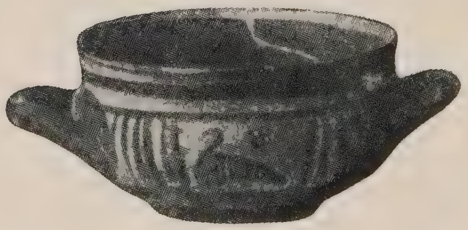

y.
Delos.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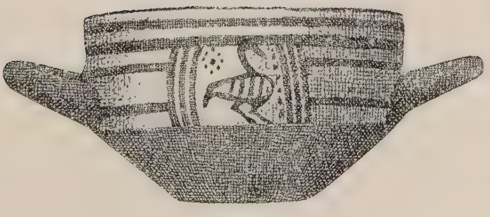
Falerii.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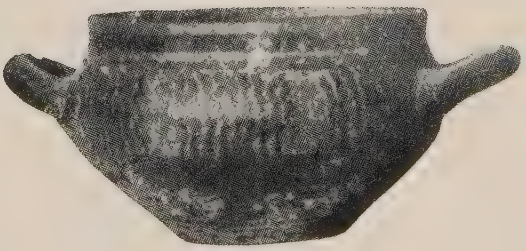
Tarquinia.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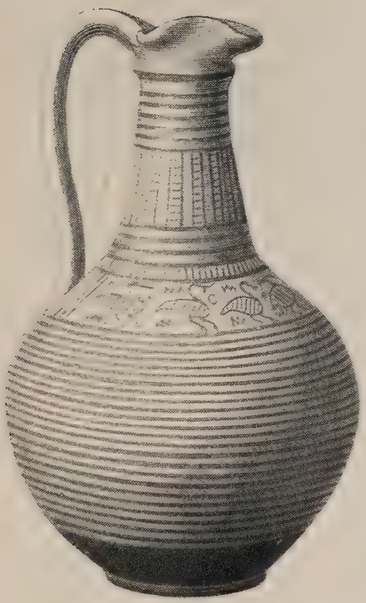
Tarquinia.

Geometric Vases from Italian Sites (exc. *y*).

PLATE 32.



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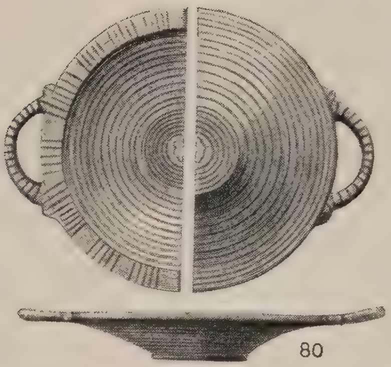

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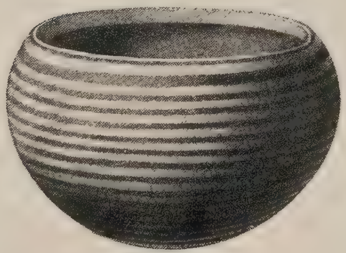

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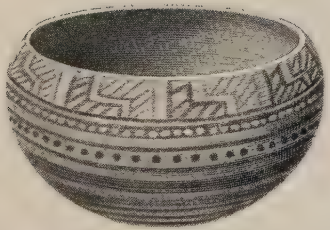

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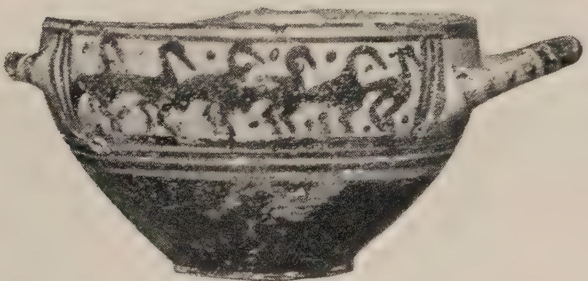

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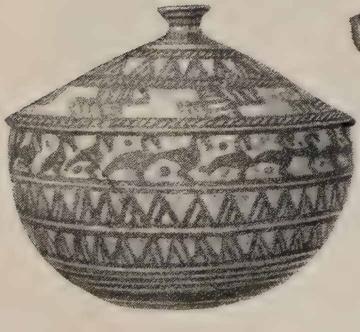

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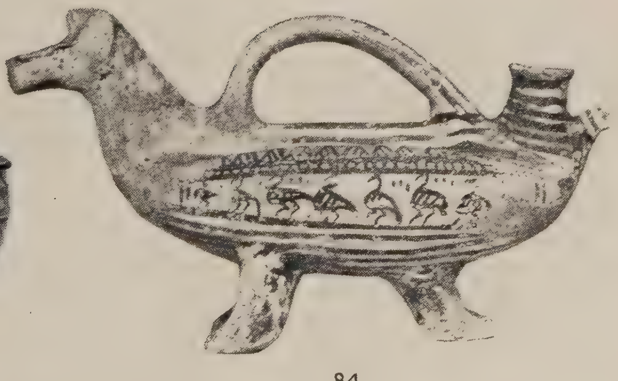
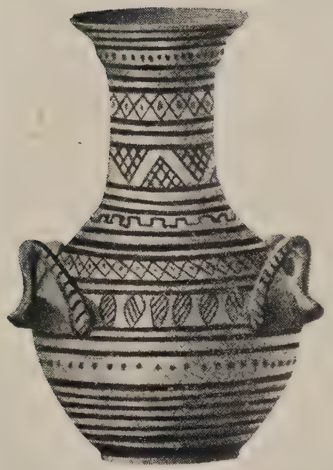
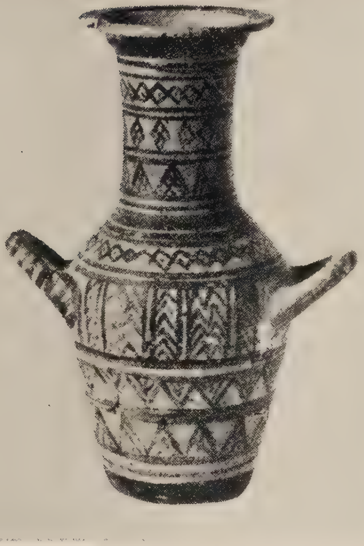


84

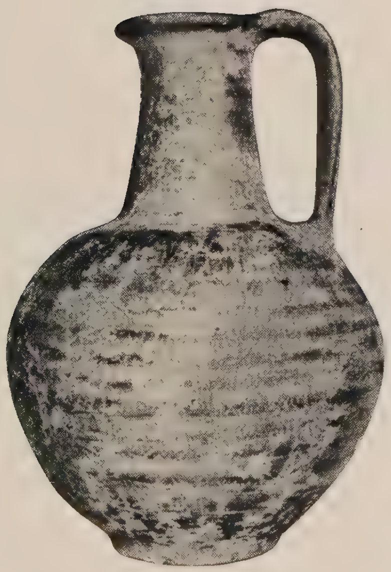
Geometric Pottery from the 'Warrior's Tomb,' Tarquinia.



86
Marseilles.



z
Berezanj.



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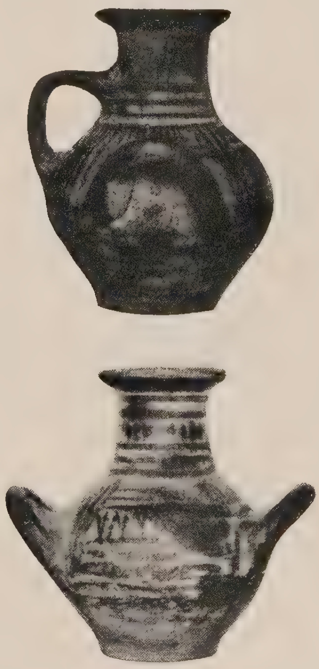
Marseilles.

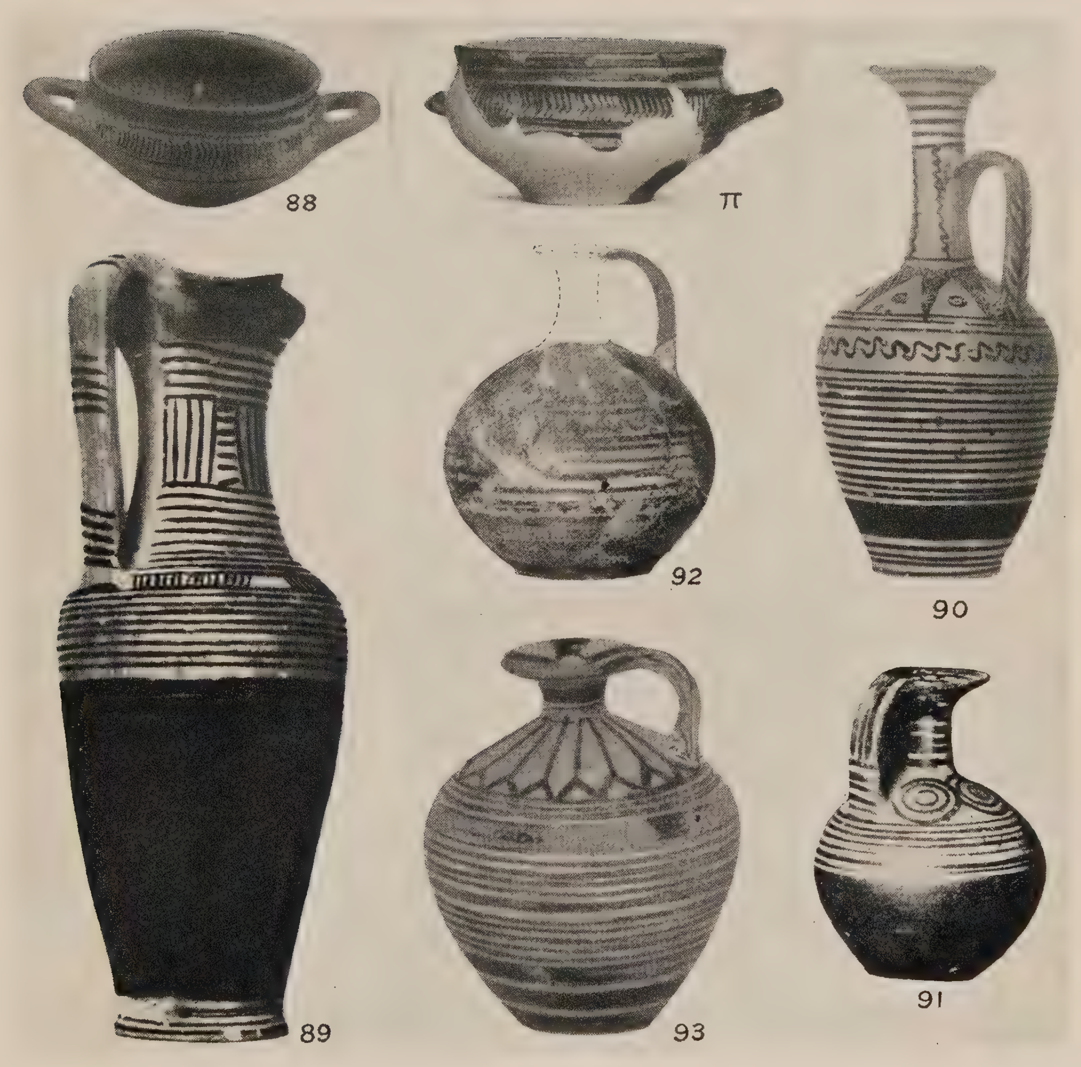


87

Hyères.

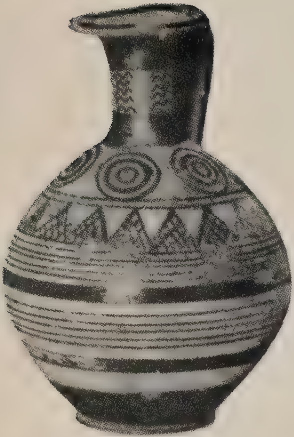
Greek Geometric Pottery from the South of France (exc. *z*).

PLATE 34.


88
π
90
92
89
93
91

Geometric Pottery from Cumae (exc. π).
No. 88 from the native settlement. π from Delos.

PLATE 35.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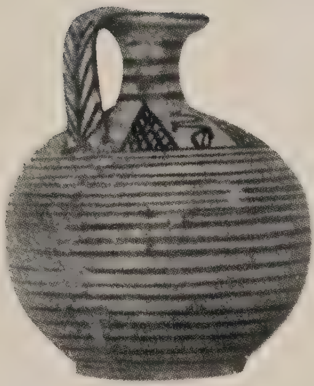
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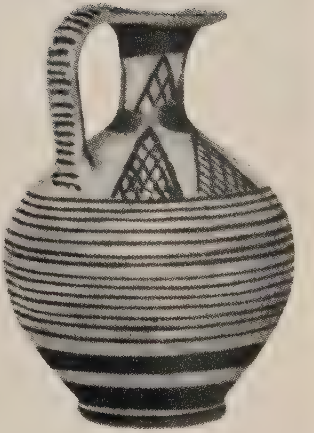
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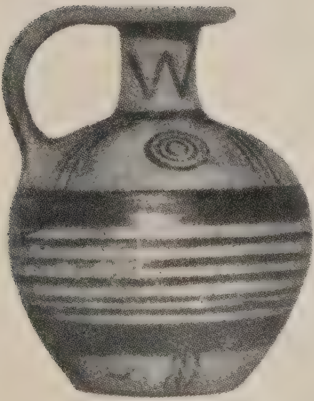
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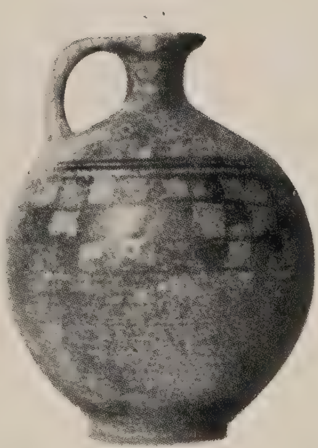
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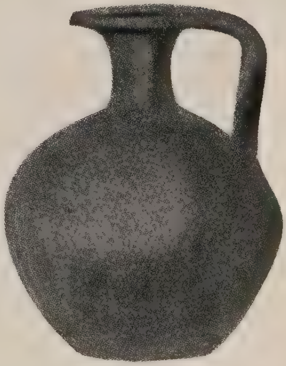
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Vases from Cumae.

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